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THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B.,

LATE ENVOY TO PERSIA, AND GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY;

FROM

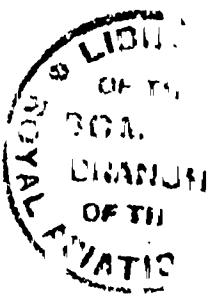
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

4132

BY

JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF LORD METCALFE," "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN," &c.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO

THE HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

THESE MEMOIRS

OF ONE OF HIS

MOST DISTINGUISHED COTEMPORARIES AND ATTACHED FRIENDS

ARE RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

As I believe it will be more generally asked why the Life of Sir John Malcolm was not written before, than why it now makes its appearance, I think it is well to state, that many years ago the late Captain Hamilton, the accomplished author of "Cyril Thornton," undertook to perform the task, which has since devolved upon me; but death arrested his labors. He had proceeded but a little way with his work, when he was thus prematurely lost to the world. Some of the earlier papers had been placed in his hands; he had marked a few passages in the correspondence, and he had written, with little result, some letters of inquiry to the few surviving friends of Malcolm's boyhood; but I have not been able to learn that he ever wrote a line of the Memoir.

From the time of Captain Hamilton's death, in 1842, up to the autumn of 1854, when I undertook to prepare the present work for the press, the voluminous correspondence of Sir John Malcolm (with the exception of one very valuable collection of letters) remained in the possession of the family, with the fullest intention on their part, as soon as fitting opportunity should present it-

self, of publishing some selections from it, accompanied with a narrative of Malcolm's eventful career. When this correspondence was placed in my hands, I found that the only difficulty it presented to the biographer was the difficulty of selection. Sir John Malcolm began, at a comparatively early date, to adhere rigidly to the custom of keeping copies of all his own letters on public affairs, and preserving those which were addressed to him. As these letters were, for the most part, arranged in books, and were in a very tolerable state of preservation, I had no reason to complain of the quality or quantity of my material. It is true that the records of Malcolm's early life were somewhat scanty; but this is a deficiency with which biographers have so commonly to contend, that neither writers nor readers feel any disappointment at its occurrence. It may be observed, too, that Malcolm, in his younger days, wrote both rarely and briefly to his friends; in that respect furnishing a strong contrast to Munro and Metcalfe, whose biographies are among the few exceptions to the rule of which I have spoken.

Voluminous as were the family papers placed at my disposal, they by no means constituted the whole of my materials. I had many large collections of Malcolm's letters in my possession before those papers passed into my hands. Some of the letters derived from foreign sources were the originals of those in the family letter-books. Others were hastily-written, but often suggestive communications referring to immediate topics of the day, of which no copies had been preserved. These undress effusions are often of more value to the biographer than more studied compositions; and it may be mentioned,

whilst on this subject, that the very best biographical materials at my command have been Malcolm's letters to his wife.

And I do not think that any reader will have just ground of complaint that I have suffered, in this work, the historical to overlay the biographical. The Life of Sir John Malcolm is the life of a man actively employed in the public service, with rare intervals, for half a century. And of these public services the Memoir furnishes a detailed account. But it may with truth be said, with reference to all the great historical events glanced at in this Memoir, that Malcolm was not merely in them, but of them—*pars magna*. To use one of his favorite expressions, the "laboring oar" was always in his hand. So large and so distinct was his individuality, that the man himself is ever to be seen in the foreground, impressing himself upon all the events with which he was connected, and shaping them by the force of his own personal character. I believe it would be no exaggeration to say that the History of India can be but imperfectly understood without an understanding also of the character of Sir John Malcolm.

And I am reminded by this of the obligations which I owe to some of the surviving friends of the subject of this Memoir, for oral communications of more value than written documents. As I never saw Sir John Malcolm, who died whilst I was on my way out to India as a cadet, I have endeavoured to the utmost to supply the wants of my own personal knowledge by gathering unrecorded information from those who knew him best. And as he was not one to pass readily out of the recollection of any

who had once known him, I have seldom failed to elicit some characteristic reminiscences from the cotemporaries whose assistance I have sought.

It remains only to be observed, that, with the exception of two or three letters, the correspondence quoted in this Memoir is now published for the first time. In the later editions of the Wellington Correspondence may be found one or two of the Duke's letters to Malcolm, which appear also in the first of these volumes. The publication of the remainder, however, has not been anticipated by Colonel Gurwood. There was no one to whom the Duke of Wellington wrote more unreservedly than to Sir John Malcolm. This unreserve has rendered necessary a cautious use of the correspondence; but enough is still given to show the intimate terms on which they corresponded, and to illustrate, at the same time, many interesting traits of the Duke's character.

On turning over these printed pages, before finally dismissing them to take their chance with the Public, and on again referring to the materials (literally a room-full) out of which the Memoir has been shaped, I cannot resist a strong sensation of regret at the thought of the many interesting and valuable papers still lying unused around me. I must console myself with the thought that a selection from these may some day be laid before the Public.

J. W. KAYE.

London, *November*, 1856.

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ERRATA.

Page 42, line 10 from bottom, for "for those feelings," read "*to* those feelings."
Page 91, line 4, for "Ooshegs," read "*Oosbegs.*"
Page 336, line 18, for "millah," read "*nullah.*"
The name of Admiral Sir P. Malcolm should be spelt throughout "Pulteney."

THE

LIFE OF SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOYHOOD OF JOHN MALCOLM.

[1769—1782.]

HIS HOME IN ESKDALE—ANCESTORS—PARENTAGE—MISFORTUNES OF GEORGE MALCOLM—THE FAMILY AT BURNFOOT—OFFER OF A CADETSHIP—JOHN'S VISIT TO LONDON—ORDEAL AT THE INDIA-HOUSE—DEPARTURE FOR INDIA.

On the banks of the Esk, in the parish of Westerkirk, three miles from Langholm, in Dumfries-shire, lies the estate of Burnfoot. In all pleasant Eskdale there are few pleasanter spots. There the heather-covered hills slope down towards the sparkling waters of the river, as it winds in a devious fantastic course over its stony bed, now between high wooded banks, and now between low grass-lands. A comely modern mansion,* almost on the water's side, stands where once stood the house in which John Malcolm was born.

The Eskdale Malcolms were a younger branch of the Malcolms of Lachore, in Fifeshire. The first who settled in Dumfries-shire was Robert Malcolm. Son of David Malcolm and Elizabeth Melvill, he had been educated for the Scottish Church, and, in 1717, on the recom-

* Now in the possession of Mr. William Elphinstone Malcolm.

mendation of the Lord President of Scotland, nominated by the Earl of Dalkeith to the ministerial charge of the parish of Ewes, which borders on Westerkirk. During little less than half of the eighteenth century he continued to occupy the manse, diligently and faithfully performing the duties of his office, dwelling among his own people, rich in their affection and respect. But the revenues of the parish were small, and it was with the kindly intention of increasing them that his patron granted him a lease of the farm of Burnfoot at little more than a nominal rent. The farm was in those days mainly a sheep farm. Literally and figuratively, the concerns of the Rev. Robert Malcolm were of a pastoral character. But he had married Agnes, daughter of the Rev. George Campbell, Professor of Divinity, a man of rare piety and learning, one of the ablest and best, indeed, of the old Scotch divines; and when, in due time, his son George grew to man's estate, he was entrusted with the management of the farm.

In 1761, to the grief of all his parishioners, the good minister died. In the same year, George Malcolm took to wife Margaret, daughter of James Pasley of Craig.* The young man had been intended for the Church, and had received with that object a liberal education; but some defect in his articulation caused an abandonment of the project, and he had devoted himself to agricultural and pastoral pursuits. On the death of his father, the lease of Burnfoot had been renewed to him, and he had become the tenant also of the adjoining farm of Douglan, under the proprietorship of his friend John Johnstone of Alva.

To George and Margaret Malcolm the words of the old Hebrew benediction were literally fulfilled. Whilst the good man cultivated the lands of Burnfoot, there

* And sister of Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Baronet.

grew up around him a thriving family of sons and daughters. But his worldly wealth did not increase with his progeny. George Malcolm was a strong-minded, an honest, and a pious man—but he was not a prosperous one. The necessities of a numerous family prompted him to look beyond his farm for means of support. He entered into speculations for which his previous habits had not fitted him; and carried on, in partnership with others, mainly with borrowed capital, they failed. Mr. Malcolm's private estate was saddled with a large portion of the debts of the concern; and all his little property was sold.

A close investigation into his concerns revealed only the just dealings of the man.* Many sympathised with him. Some were eager to assist him. Not last or least of these was his brother-in-law, Dr. Gilbert Pasley, Chief Physician at Madras, who in this hour of need rendered him essential service.

There was enough in this fatal miscarriage to cloud the happiness of any one. But George Malcolm of Burnfoot was something better than a man of a robust nature; he was a Christian in the largest sense of the word. "I know not at this moment," wrote one whose testimony is worthy of all acceptation† to one of

* He was so honest a man that he would not even cheat a friend, or a stranger, in horseflesh. On one occasion, he sent an agent to a fair with a very good-looking horse to be sold there; but charged him, at the same time, with a letter to be delivered to the intending purchaser, indicating the defects on account of which he wished to dispose of the animal. On another, the same agent was selling one of Mr. Malcolm's cows at Langholm Fair, when that gentleman joined the group who were looking at her, and said, "Ay, ay, gentlemen, she has a fine show of milk—but she does not give much."

† The Rev. Sir Harry Moncreiff, father of the late Lord Moncreiff, and grandfather of the present (1856) Lord Advocate of Scotland. Lord Cockburn, in his "Life of Jeffrey," says of him: "The prominent qualities of his mind were strong integrity and nervous sense. There never was a sounder understanding. Many men were more learned, many more cultivated, and some more able. But who could match him in sagacity and mental force? The opinions of Sir Harry Moncreiff might at any time have been adopted with perfect safety, without knowing more about them than that they were his."

Mr. Malcolm's children, "whom I could conscientiously compare with your father, in sterling worth, in sound understanding, in the best affections of the heart, in unaffected enlightenment and genuine godliness." He felt the burden that was upon him, for he was a man by nature of an anxious and sensitive temperament; but, sustained by a good conscience, he bore up bravely beneath it. There was not, perhaps, a day of his life in which he did not remember his misfortunes—but he suffered with true Christian resignation, and was thankful for the blessings which remained.

And chiefest of these were his wife and children. Margaret Malcolm was a woman of high principle and sound understanding—but womanly in all; of quick parts and ready resources; strong in doing and in suffering; but gentle and affectionate; a support in adversity to her husband; and to her children a tender, a watchful, but not an over-indulgent mother. How much they all owed to her it is difficult to say. She lived to be the mother of heroes, and was worthy of such a race.

To George and Margaret Malcolm ten sons and seven daughters were born; a healthy and a vigorous tribe, who forded the Esk, clomb the steep hill-sides of Douglan and Craig, and gambolled in the heather. There was a good parish school in Westerkirk; but, better still, there was plenty of fresh air and free scope for exercise, and the boys in early childhood, swimming in the flooded waters of the river, or scampering about the country on rough ponies, learnt lessons of independence, which were of service to them to the end of their lives.

Of these boys, John was the fourth. He was born on the 2nd of May, 1769.* If he was conspicuous for any-

* On the day after the birth of the Duke of Wellington. It was emphatically a year of heroes. Napoleon Bonaparte was born in the same year.

thing in his childhood, it was less for a studious habit than for a certain quickness of parts, which enabled him to prepare his lessons as he trudged up the hill on his way to school; and for that fearlessness of heart and activity of body, the boyish result of which is commonly mischief. The tradition is, that "Jock" was the scapegrace and the scapegoat of the family. The Westerkirk schoolmaster, Mr. Archibald Graham, used to declare, whatever wild pranks were committed, that "Jock was at the bottom of them." No matter how little apparent his participation in the exploit may have been, still the preceptor clung to his formula, and exclaimed, "Jock's at the bottom of it."*

It might well have been a matter of serious concern, even to one in prosperous circumstances, how to provide for all these robust boys. To George Malcolm, after his misfortunes, it was the study and anxiety of his life. Fortunately he had many friends—friends in his own native Eskdale, and friends in the great English metropolis. For the eldest boy, Robert, an appointment was obtained as a writer in the service of the great Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. James,† the second son, was provided for in the Marines, with a fair field of distinguished service before him. For the third boy, Pulteny,‡ a midshipman's berth was secured in a man-of-war, and he was on the road to become a great admiral, and one of England's best naval heroes. And now, when yet only eleven years old, John was set down in the Burnfoot book of fate for a military career in the East.

Among Mr. Malcolm's friends, it has been said, were

* The schoolmaster lived to address his old pupil as Sir John. There is an anecdote in the family, that on the appearance of his "History of Persia," Malcolm sent a copy of it to Mr. Graham, with an inscription on the fly-leaf of "Jock's at the bottom of it." I have not, however, been able to authenticate the details of this story.

† The late Sir James Malcolm, K.C.B.

‡ The late Admiral Sir Pulteny Malcolm, G.C.B.

the Johnstones of Alva. One of the family was the well-known "Governor Johnstone," whose influence at the India-House was not unwillingly exerted in behalf of the tenant of Burnfoot. By him a nomination to the military service of the Company was tendered to Mr. Malcolm for his son John before the close of 1780;* but the extreme youth of the boy rendered it doubtful whether the offer could be turned to immediate account. The winter and spring passed away, and Jock remained in Eskdale, at the bottom of all the mischief as before. But in the course of the summer a visitor appeared at Burnfoot, who proposed to carry off the boy to London, and obtained the parents' ready consent.

This was John Malcolm's maternal uncle, Mr. John Pasley, a London merchant of high character and position—a man of a kindly disposition and a generous nature, who had rendered much good substantial service to the Burnfoot party in their troubles, and whose knowledge of business was yet to be exercised to the profit of the younger members of the family. His summer visit to Eskdale was now a momentous one. It was agreed that Jock should return with his uncle to London. So mere a child was he, that on the morning of his departure, when the old nurse was combing his hair, she said to him, "Now, Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa'

* *John Johnstone to George Malcolm; December 6th*, 1780. "The enclosed, from my worthy brother, the Governor, is a fresh proof of his never-ceasing attention and sympathy to his friends. He thinks that John, the eldest of your boys now at home, if I have not mistaken his name, and who you told me was eleven years old, though young should nevertheless accept of this appointment. Could one be certain of such a hit hereafter, no question it would be more to be wished, but so many accidents may occur to disappoint, that young as John is, it may be doing the best thing to embrace the offer. My brother's health is far from being re-established, and his absence, or any accident to him, and my distance from the scene of Indian affairs, might render this appointment hereafter very precarious. . . . . What I could wish most would be permission for John to remain behind for another year after his appointment, with the consent of the Directors. It would be happy, perhaps, could this be effected, but we must not depend upon it."

ye kaim your head and keep your face clean; if ye dinna, ye'll just be sent hame agen." "Tut, woman," was the answer, "ye're aye se feard; ye'll see if I were awa' amang strangers, I'll just do weel-aneugh."

And the brave words were truly spoken. At the end of July, 1781, young John Malcolm, accompanying his uncle, Mr. John Pasley, for the first time crossed the Scottish border. A journey of two days brought him to the English metropolis, where he spent a week, nominally in his uncle's house, but really abroad in the streets, seeing almost everything that was worth seeing, and enjoying himself beyond expression. During this brief period of sight-seeing his ideas began to expand wonderfully, and the childishness of his manners rapidly disappeared.* But there was other education in store for him than that of the great world. On the 7th of August his uncle carried him to school, placing Jock under the charge of Mr. Allen, a gentleman who was under some obligations to Mr. Pasley, and was sure, therefore, to do justice to the boy.

It was Mr. Pasley's desire to obtain an appointment for his nephew in the Company's military service with the least possible delay. But the boy was only twelve years old; and though tall of his age, still of so juvenile an appearance, that there was little likelihood of his passing at the India-House. There were no fixed rules in those days respecting the age at which commissions might be held, but the candidate had to appear before a Committee of Directors, and from them to receive his credentials. There was no difficulty about John's nomi-

* *Mr. John Pasley to Mrs. Malcolm; August* 11, 1781. "I allowed him to remain with me all the week, that he might see and become a little acquainted with this immense city. His time was fully employed in traversing its streets, and during these few days he saw everything almost that was curious, and was delighted beyond expression. His ideas began to open, his behaviour is much altered, and on the whole, hitherto, I have a very good opinion of him."

nation; the difficulty was for one so young to pass the ordeal in Leadenhall-street.* The experiment, however, was to be tried. A free passage to India had been promised by Captain Tod of the *Busbridge*, and it was of importance that this should not be lost. So, towards the end of that year, 1781, John Malcolm was taken to the India-House, and was, as his uncle anticipated, in a fair way to be rejected, when one of the Directors said to him, "Why, my little man, what would *you* do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?" "Do, Sir," said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, "I would out with my sword, and cut off his head." "You will do," was the rejoinder; "let him pass." The lofty spirit of the boy atoned for his lowly stature, and that was granted to his big words which would have been denied to his few inches. John Malcolm's first commission was dated in October, 1781.

But he did not embark till some time afterwards. Captain Tod, it appears, was to have sailed in the following March; but circumstances with which I am not acquainted must have caused his detention till the autumn. In the mean while, John Malcolm continued to profit by the kindness of his uncle and the tuition of Mr. Allen;† and embarked for India, at least as well educated as the majority of lads who at that time, with small Latin and less Greek, set their faces towards the "shining Orient."

* *Mr. John Pasley to Mr. George Malcolm; November* 13, 1781. "Johnny, though tall of his age, I don't know how to dispose of. He certainly will not pass at the India-House, and Tod will sail in March. If he loses this opportunity, next year he may have his passage to pay for. In two or three weeks Tod is expected in town. I will consult him on the subject, and endeavour, if possible, to get him out. Another year at the academy would not hurt him; but though he would be by that means better qualified for his employment, the delay will be attended with many disadvantages, which I wish to guard against. Whether the appointment is for Madras or Bengal I shall be contented. On Bob's account I would prefer the latter, as his being sent to Madras might not, perhaps, be so agreeable to my brother, which would hurt both."

† Mr. Allen thought him so promising a pupil, that he deplored the boy's early removal, and offered, if it were connected with pecuniary considerations, to educate him gratuitously.

CHAPTER II.

SUBALTERN-LIFE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

[1783—1794.]

ARRIVAL AT MADRAS—DEPARTURE FOR VELLORE—FIRST YEARS OF SERVICE—IDLENESS AND EXTRAVAGANCE—EARLY REFORMATION—THE WAR WITH TIPPOO—OPERATIONS OF THE NIZAM'S FORCE—ORIENTAL STUDIES—FIRST STAFF APPOINTMENT—RETURN TO ENGLAND.

On the 16th of April, 1783, the *Busbridge* anchored in Madras Roads. At that place young John Malcolm was received by the widow of his uncle, Gilbert Pasley. The lady had taken another husband, and now bore the name of Ogilvie. After a short residence at the Presidency, he accompanied his new friends to Vellore, and was appointed to do duty with one of the regiments composing the garrison of that fort. Having nothing else to do, he had grown much on the voyage; and his new friends were delighted with his frank, open manners, his sunny temper, and his genial, playful spirit.*

At this time the English in India were at war with

* *Mrs. Ogilvie to Mrs. Malcolm; Vellore, July* 5, 1783. "By this conveyance you will receive letters from your son Jack, who, I suppose, will tell you of our journey up here, and of the wonders he had seen in India. . . . . Jack came to us immediately on his landing from Captain Tod's ship, and happy was I, my dear sister, to receive your son, and to do all in my power to make him happy. He was too young to go to the field, so we brought him up here and got him appointed to the troops in this garrison. He is a very old ensign, though a very young lad. He is grown a head and shoulders, and is one of the finest and best-tempered young lads I ever saw, and very much liked by everybody."

Tippoo,* and at war with the French. When John Malcolm reached Vellore, a body of English troops was laying siege to the French position at Cuddalore. Tidings, however, came of peace in Europe; so hostilities ceased in India against our great continental rival, and left us to turn our undivided energies against our unscrupulous Mysorean foe. Those energies, however, were not exerted in a very formidable manner. Our councils wanted union, and our army wanted a head. There were indecent dissensions at Madras; and the loss of Sir Eyre Coote could not be adequately supplied. So, after another year of desultory warfare, during which no great advantages were gained on either side, negotiations were opened with Tippoo; and on the 11th of May, 1784, a definitive treaty was signed.

Among other articles of this treaty was one for the release of the prisoners taken by the contending powers. Many English officers, in the extremity of suffering and humiliation, had long been hopeless captives in the hands of Hyder Ali and his son. The peace, if it had no other good results, restored to liberty these brave, enduring men; all who had not perished under the cruel hands of their captors. Sir Thomas (then Major) Dallas, who had commanded the escort of the commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace with Tippoo, received charge of the English prisoners, and was instructed to conduct them to the safe precincts of our English territory. At the same time, a detachment of two companies of Sepoys was sent out from our side of the Mysorean frontier to meet Dallas's escort on its way from Seringapatam. In command of this party went Ensign John Malcolm. This was his first service—and it was long remembered by

* Hyder Ali had died in the preceding year, so Johnny Malcolm was spared the necessity of making good his promise at the India-House by cutting off his Highness's head.

others than the youthful hero himself. When the detachment met the prisoners' escort, a bright-faced, healthy English boy was seen by the latter riding up to them on a rough pony. Dallas asked him after his commanding officer. "*I* am the commanding officer," said young Malcolm. Amid something of pride on one side and amusement on the other, a friendship was formed between the two, which nothing but death terminated. Dallas, who lived to a green old age, survived to see the bright-faced English boy grow into one of the most distinguished officers of his day; and there were few of the reminiscences of his long life to which he recurred with greater pleasure than to this his first meeting with Malcolm, in the old time when Warren Hastings was Governor-General of India.

Of the next five or six years of the young soldier's life the records are very scanty. But I am not sure that the absence of authentic materials relating to this period of his career is much to be regretted. He arrived in India, and was his own master before he was fourteen—an age at which the majority of boys of his station are drinking weak milk-and-water, and being whipped into Latin hexameters. I am afraid that he was not a prodigy of youthful virtue. He was a fine, free-spirited, active, excitable boy, fonder of play of all kinds than of study—a good horseman, a crack shot, accomplished in all gymnastic exercises. In his regiment, and wherever he was known beyond his regiment, he went by the name of "Boy Malcolm"—a name which he retained many years afterwards—there was something so open and joyous in his manner, so active, and so frolicsome. Of course he was beset by all manner of temptations. What he resisted, and what he did not, I do not particularly know; but he was soon immersed in debt, and surrounded by all its attendant difficulties.

One anecdote relating to this period of his life is extant. Being with his regiment at some out-station, and in very straitened circumstances, paying off his debts, I believe, as best he could, and scorning to borrow from his comrades, he was often sore beset for a meal. One day the colonel of his regiment sent for him and said, "I don't see any smoke come out of the chimney of your cook-room, Malcolm—come and breakfast with me." The young soldier fired up at this indelicate invitation—an unwarrantable interference, as he thought, in his private affairs; and he either actually called out the colonel, or was with difficulty restrained from sending the challenge. I have heard, too, that at one time, in the course of these years of early struggle—probably at the identical period to which the above anecdote refers—an old native woman in the bazaar voluntarily supplied him with provisions, for the payment of which, she declared, she was content to wait his own time and convenience. For the good feeling thus displayed, Malcolm was ever grateful; and his gratitude took a practical shape, for he pensioned the good woman to the end of her days.*

It was about the year 1787-88 that the dawn of better things commenced; and young John Malcolm began to see the folly of his ways. He had begun life early, and before he was nineteen was able to speak of himself—and truthfully too—as a reformed character. He was at this time stationed with a wing of his regiment at Masulipatam—where his eldest brother, Robert, was residing as Company's agent—and had made so much progress in

* To render this more intelligible to the purely English reader not acquainted with the history of the Indian services, it should be stated that at this period the pay of the younger Company's officers was much smaller than it is at the present time. This cautionary sentence, however, will be unnecessary to those who have perused Sir Thomas Munro's delightful letters (in Mr. Gleig's Memoir), in which he speaks with so much good-humor of the early hardships to which he was exposed for lack of funds to procure ordinary comforts.

the detail-work of professional duty, that he was appointed to act as adjutant of the detachment. The earliest letter preserved by his family touches on these points, and expresses in a few words so much good penitential feeling, that it would be unjust to the young soldier to omit it:

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS FATHER.

Masulipatam, Feb. 9, 1788.

MY DEAR FATHER,—My not receiving a single line from you last season, made me almost suppose you thought me no longer worthy of your advice, as I had made such a bad use of what you had formerly bestowed upon me. I must own to my shame you had too much reason to think it would be thrown away. All that I now expect is, that my friends will forget the past (I hope I may now say) part of my conduct. I have informed my mother how very agreeably I am now situated, though I believe I shall not remain long here; as I have been six years and four months an ensign,* I expect promotion every day, and with it a removal. I am at present doing duty as adjutant of that part of my regiment stationed here. Though I receive no pay for doing that duty, it is a great recommendation to a young man to act, as it gives him a chance, when any vacancy happens in the staff line, to be appointed and receive the allowances annexed.

I would with pleasure give you some idea of the politics of this part of the globe if I was in any way competent; but they are so little known, that it is almost impossible to meet with a man who can give any account of them. The Mahrattas and Tippoo have ceased hostilities for this some time past. The latter is now in the field against one of his own vassals on the Malabar coast, called Ibed Beg—but I suppose he will soon be crushed, as it is not possible for him to bring forces nearly sufficient to cope with his master.

I am, dear father,
Your affectionate and dutiful son,
JOHN MALCOLM.

* From this it would appear that his first commission was dated in October, 1781.

It is probable that he owed much to the judicious management of his brother Robert, of whom he always spoke in terms of the warmest affection and the most zealous praise. Robert's kindness was not of that yielding, indulgent sort, which smooths down present difficulties, careless of the amount of evil with which the future may thus be burdened. He thought that the day of reckoning could not come too soon; and therefore not only abstained from assisting John to extricate himself from his pecuniary difficulties, but prevented others from rendering that assistance. John Pasley, the London merchant, always generous, and always fond of his nephew, was willing to make advances to the young soldier which would have relieved him at once from the incumbrance of debt; but Robert Malcolm thought that obligations thus easily discharged might be soon incurred again, and accordingly stopped his uncle's remittances. John was left, therefore, to pay his own debts as best he could; and before the end of 1788, he had discharged them all by his own unaided exertions.*

A life of active service in the field was now before him. The peace had lasted as long as peace generally lasts in India. The turbulent, aggressive spirit of Tippoo Sultan had not been laid to rest. We had many warnings of a coming rupture. But they had been disregarded. And when at last the crisis came—when our insolent enemy threw off the mask and dared the contest by attacking the lines of our ally the Rajah of Travancore—we found ourselves on the eve of a great war, unprepared for the

* *Robert Malcolm to Mrs. Malcolm of Burnfoot; February* 26, 1789. "Do not blame John, poor fellow. Nothing but distress led him to what he did. It was even unknown to me until I received my uncle's letters, which I suppressed, and wrote to John in a different style than his uncle had done. Had he got the money my uncle ordered —viz., 200*l.*—he would effectually have been ruined. But I knew too well his situation to give him a shilling. He has now cleared himself from debt, and is as promising a character in his profession as lives."

coming struggle. The year 1790 dawned upon us with scanty resources and debilitated establishments, making hasty provision for an emergency that had long been foreseen; and paying, as was said by Lord Cornwallis, in millions for our unwillingness to venture on a timely expenditure of groats.

But the war upon which we were now entering was not to be undertaken single-handed. It was as necessary for the peace and security of the Deccan as of our own dominions that the unscrupulous ambition of Tippoo should be held in control. So the ruler of that country, known as the Nizam, took the field as our ally; and the Mahrattas were brought into the confederacy. It happened that at this time Lieutenant Malcolm's regiment* was stationed in the country which lies between the seaboard and the confines of the Nizam's dominions. When, therefore, according to our wont in such cases, a detachment of British troops was ordered to co-operate immediately with our ally, Malcolm's corps formed part of this auxiliary force.

Commencing their march from Ellore—a rapid and laborious one—in the burning month of May, they suffered terribly from the heat of the weather and a fatal scarcity of water. By the middle of July they had reached Rachore, in the Nizam's dominions. "I am now," wrote the young soldier on the 20th of that month to his friends at Burnfoot, "at Rachore, the capital of a beautiful country that bears the same name. It is five hundred miles from Masulipatam. We marched here about ten days ago. Our road was terrible—all rocks and deserts, in the hottest season that perhaps was ever known. The thermometer at 115 deg. for nearly a month. It is true, I assure you, though the hearers of

* The 29th battalion of Native Infantry.

this paragraph, I am sure, will think otherwise. I walked nearly the whole way, as my horse was sick; and we frequently marched at twelve o'clock at night, and did not arrive at our ground till two P.M. next day. We were sometimes greatly distressed for provisions—often forty and fifty hours without any—but that was little compared to the dreadful want of water on the road. You can have no idea of that, as, thank God! you never could have experienced it. Officers in general supply themselves, and have a servant for the purpose; but, in some of our long marches, I have seen men raving mad, go into high fever, and die in a few hours. We are going on service in a few days."

At Bhoospore, the detachment joined the army of the Deccan. The Nizam himself had made a great show of taking the field with all his chief officers of state. His force was computed to number, camp-followers included, 500,000 people, and to cover an area of ten miles by three or four. It was rather an immense migratory multitude than the moving camp of a regular army. The mixture of barbaric splendor with disorder and confusion—the strong contrasts presented everywhere by the magnificence of the Court and the ragged grotesqueness of the inferior components of the motley force—made a strong impression upon the imagination of the young soldier. But that which most filled his mind at this time, was the thought of the misery inflicted on the people of the country through which he passed, by the cruelty and rapacity of the Nizam's troops. Every kind of extortion was practised upon the inhabitants both of their own provinces and the country on the other side of the border after they had passed into Tippoo's dominions. Cowards to the strong—tyrants to the weak—they made enemies, without any local dis-

tinctions, of all who had no power to resist their merciless aggressions.*

The history of Malcolm's first campaign may be given in a few sentences. "When we marched from Rachore to the enemy's country," he says, in an early paper which I have found in a somewhat fragmentary state, "we were said to be accompanied by from 25,000 to 30,000 of the Nizam's troops, with a respectable train of artillery. But this was far from the truth. 18,000 horse and foot were the utmost extent of our numbers, and, with very few exceptions, a more complete set of ragamuffins was never assembled. . . . Nothing worthy of remark happened before we entered into Tippoo's dominions. . . . We met with no place to impede our progress to the westward in the Doab till we came to Copoulee and Behaudur-Bundur—two forts within a mile and a half of each other. . . . Copoulee is, without exception, the strongest place I have seen in India."

After a protracted siege, the place surrendered. "Six tedious months," as young Malcolm wrote, "were spent opposite the fortress, and some valuable lives were lost before it was finally carried." The work fell principally upon the European artillery; and we had then early experience of a fact which subsequently came to be universally understood, that little or no reliance is to be placed

* The following may be taken as an example of the atrocities committed by the Nizam's people—it shows the manner in which the ransom money was collected from a conquered village: "The scene which presented itself to the British officer was beyond all description shocking. The different quotas to be paid by each inhabitant had been fixed; and every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce it. Men and women, poor and rich, were suffering promiscuously. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears; some large stones upon their breasts; whilst others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers. Their cries of agony and declarations of inability to pay appeared only to whet the appetite of their tormentors. Most of those not under their hands seemed in a state of starvation. Indeed, they were so far distracted with hunger, that many of them, without distinction of sect, devoured what was left by the European officer and Sepoys from their dinner."—[*MS. Memoir by John Malcolm.*]

on native allies, and that therefore, in all nominally conjoint operations, it is expedient to act independently of them. But it was less by the physical agency of our guns than by the moral effect produced by the fall of Bangalore that Copoulee was eventually subdued. Of this fact, the bare outline of which is traced in History, all the more dramatic details are given in one of Malcolm's later journals:

"The strong fortress of Copoulee," he wrote, "had been besieged for six months without our making any practicable breach; but the commandant, from the whole of the country round being conquered, entered into a negotiation for its surrender. The result of this depended in a great degree upon the truth of an account which had been received of the fall of Bangalore. The Minister of Dara Jah asserted that this was the case; but the persons deputed from the fort expressed their doubts of the fact. They were asked what would satisfy them of its truth? 'If Sadoollah Khan* says it is so, we will believe him,' was the reply. He was sent for, and the question put to him. 'I have heard it reported that Bangalore has been taken, but have no positive knowledge of its truth,' was the reply. The Minister was quite indignant, whilst the deputies from the tent exulted at his answer. But he requested of both to be allowed to satisfy himself by going to the English camp. I was in the tent of the commanding officer, Captain Read, when he came to him and asked if Lord Cornwallis had taken Bangalore. Captain R. said he had. 'I beg your pardon,' said he, mildly; 'I know an English officer always speaks truth, but have you received accounts of this event through a channel in which you repose entire confidence?' The official letter which announced it was shown and explained to him. He thanked Captain R., and went direct to the tent where the conference was held, and addressing the deputies, said, 'Bangalore has been taken by the English.' Not a question (I was assured by a person present) was asked, nor an observation made, further

* Sadoollah Khan was a Mussulman chief, of Arab stock, who was held in high repute for his scrupulous veracity and good faith in that part of the country.

than the deputies lamenting the bad fortune of their sovereign. They returned into the fort, and the capitulation was instantly signed."

Behaudur-Bundur capitulated a few days afterwards, and the garrisons of both places were humanely permitted to retire without molestation.

After some further operations of no great moment to this narrative, the detachment to which young Malcolm belonged was ordered to join the main body of the Nizam's army, which, accompanied by the Resident, Sir John Kennaway, was then assembling to march upon Seringapatam, and co-operate with the British forces under Lord Cornwallis.

The records of this period of John Malcolm's life are very scanty; but I know enough to declare that we now see him at the turning-point of his career. In the camp of the Nizam he became acquainted with Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Græme Mercer, and others of the diplomatic corps then representing British interests at the Court of Hyderabad. He soon grew into favor with them, and lived for a time in familiar intercourse with the magnates of the Residency. The high position which they occupied; the important duties entrusted to them; the stirring life which they led, fired his young ambition. He began to ask himself whether he might not do likewise. A new world opened out before him. He burned to be a diplomatist.

The first step towards this consummation was to acquire a competent knowledge of the language of the Native Courts. He determined that he would study Persian. His friends of the Residency encouraged this good resolution, and Mr. Græme Mercer lent "Boy Malcolm" the services of his moonshee. And very resolutely did the young man apply himself to the mastery of the

Oriental character and the construction of the language.* His younger companions laughed at him, and endeavoured to lure him back to his old pursuits. But he had laid aside his gun, and manfully declared that he would not fire another shot, or mount his horse again, until he had made certain progress in his studies.

And he studied to some purpose. Nor was it to the native languages alone that he applied himself at this time. He seems to have begun not only to reflect, but to record his reflections upon the interesting events which were passing before him—upon the character of the people by whom he was surrounded—the nature of the connexion existing between the British power and the Native States; and the conduct to be observed by the

* See the following extract of a letter from Mr. Græme Mercer to Captain Hamilton: "Our acquaintance commenced in 1791, when I was attached to the Residency at Hyderabad, and John joined us as an ensign in the detachment of Madras troops which was settled by treaty to be stationed in the Nizam's country. He soon became a favorite with us all, and particularly with Sir John Kennaway, the Resident. He was then a careless, good-humored fellow, illiterate, but with pregnant ability. He took a fancy to learn Persian, and I made over to him my moonshee, under whom he made rapid improvement. The Residency soon afterwards marched with the Nizam's son and Minister to join Lord Cornwallis's army, and I have no recollection what became of Malcolm, but a faint one that he had lost his health with the detachment, and returned to the Company's provinces."

In another letter, addressed to Mr. Elphinstone, the same writer says: "He was quite illiterate when he joined us, but an adept in all games, and a capital shot; and, in short, possessed an intellect which only required to be set a-going, either for good or evil. He had been accused of gambling before I knew him; but I never heard of his exercising his talents in that way after he had been engaged in any employment of consequence. His overflowing spirits made him riotous, and he was generally known by the name of 'Boy Malcolm.' I think I recollect his *speeling* the tent-poles with Edmonstone, and probably all of us; but gymnastics formed a great part of our amusements, and he excelled in them. I gave him the use of my moonshee for some time, and he dubbed him 'Long Tom.' Ten years afterwards, on his return from Persia, when we were both voyaging up the Ganges with Lord Wellesley, John came into my boat. Finding his old friend Long Tom with me, he embraced him most cordially, and began to narrate his adventures; but, stopping short, he said, 'It is nonsense to be prolix—in short, whatever you have *read*, I have seen.' 'Ay, Boy Malcolm,' replied the moonshee; 'I hope you will indulge me then with particulars of the journey of Mahomed to heaven upon a Borak.' This, John said, was one of the few points he had not had an opportunity of inspecting himself, or ascertaining from others."

former. He was, in a word, preparing himself to graduate in the school of diplomacy, eager for an opening whereby he might obtain admission even to the lowest class. And it was not long before such an opening seemed to present itself. Referring to this period of his life, Sir John Malcolm, in after years, used to relate that a vacancy having occurred in one of the diplomatic circles of Southern India, he was prompt to make application for the post; but was anticipated by a quarter of an hour. As he entered the great man's tent to prefer his petition, he met, issuing from it, a young officer upon whom the appointment had been conferred.* He was told, that if he had called a little sooner, the assistantship should have been his. Thus he lost it; and so bitter was his disappointment, that on returning to his tent he threw himself down and wept with very grief and vexation. But the loss, though he knew it not, was great gain to him. It was nothing less than the gain of his life. The officer who had anticipated him had no sooner proceeded to the scene of his new duties, than he was murdered in open Court. It was not the man, but the office-bearer—the representative of the English Conqueror—who had been marked out as the victim: so Malcolm, had he been suffered, in this instance, to shape his own course, and to succeed in his own way, would have perished miserably at the very threshold of his diplomatic career. This lesson was not thrown away. It was often dwelt upon, in after years, gratefully and reverentially, and impressed with becoming fervor on his children. He whose ways

* There is necessarily more or less vagueness in all traditionary anecdotes of this kind. Whether the appointment for which Malcolm applied was in the gift of one of the Residents (perhaps Sir John Kennaway), or whether at a little later period, as may be inferred from the preceding note, he was in Lord Cornwallis's camp, and the application was made to the Governor-General himself, must remain a matter of doubt. The story, however, loses little by this want of circumstantiality in its details.

are not our ways had mercifully vouchsafed to preserve him, turning the apparent failure into a bountiful deliverance, and teaching him the folly of human repinings.

It was after the field-operations briefly noticed above that young Malcolm, for the first time, attempted an historical record of the events in which he had been an humble actor. In this early paper may be traced the germs of much which in after days made up the perfection of his character as a soldier and a diplomatist—a mixture of firmness and gentleness—of sagacity and courage. I have mentioned how much the oppressions exercised by the Nizam's troops upon the defenceless people weighed upon his mind. It is pleasant to learn that the forbearance and good conduct of the Company's troops presented a remarkable contrast to the licentiousness of their allies. On this fact the young narrator dwelt with manifest delight. After recording an instance of the protection afforded by a British officer to some persecuted villagers, he proceeded thus with his narrative:

"It fell to my lot afterwards to witness an occurrence not very dissimilar to the afore-mentioned, where the commanding officer, by a spirited refusal to comply with a requisition of men for oppressive purposes made by a leader whom he was ordered to assist with troops when required, not only gained the approbation of the English Resident at Hyderabad, but the esteem and respect of his own troops and those of our ally. The latter are lavish in their admiration of the justice and discipline observed by the Company's troops, though they never think of imitating them. I cannot here omit mentioning a trifling anecdote to the credit of our Sepoys. Whenever the guard paraded to march to the ill-fated village I have mentioned, they made a collection of as much rice as each man could afford to give for the starving inhabitants. This was distributed when they went. Such conduct (which was not confined to this single instance) was deemed folly, and excited a smile of pity on the countenances of the unfeeling, plundering horsemen of the Nizam's army, but made different impressions on

the inhabitants of the country. They, accustomed to the worst of treatment, received at first with suspicion and hesitation the kind protection which we always gave them when in our power. Convinced of its reality, and of our acting thus upon system, they spread our fame far and near. The sight of a Company's Sepoy quieted the minds and gave assurance of safety to a body of unfortunate wretches who, the moment before, were trembling at the thoughts of being plundered, and perhaps murdered, by our allies. I could observe no difference in the conduct of the Irregular Horse when in their own country and in that of the enemy. They seemed to consider the defenceless everywhere as their prey, and to attack all under that denomination indiscriminately. The spirit of intrepidity which our Sepoys showed in defending those they were ordered to protect, deterred our allies from venturing on plunder where they saw them posted. The strong prepossession which the inhabitants of every country through which the English detachment marched must have had for them, may, in some future day, be of the highest value. Reputation for justice and humanity preceding an army is of more consequence than an advanced guard of 10,000 men."

From the following noticeable passage, taken from the same early paper, it may be gathered that even at this period of his life he had reflected upon those principles of conduct in accordance with which, in maturer years, he shaped his diplomatic career:

"An invariable rule ought to be observed by all Europeans who have connexions with the natives of India—never to practise any art or indirect method of gaining their end, and from the greatest occasion to the most trifling to keep sacred their word. This is not only their best, but their wisest policy. By this conduct they will observe a constant superiority in all their transactions; but when they act a different part—when they condescend to meet the smooth-tongued Mahomedan, or the crafty Hindoo, with the weapons of flattery, dissimulation, and cunning, they will to a certainty be vanquished. For a successful practice in these little arts, perhaps no people on earth excel the natives of India. They begin the study as they learn to speak, and continue

it with unintermitting application through their lives. A friend of mine who lately came to India, strongly struck with this characteristic, observed, that from what he had seen he was convinced that if a bag containing a thousand pagodas were placed between William Pitt and a Madras Dubash, and if the attainment of the money so placed were to depend on specious art and cunning, the former would not get ten out of the thousand. I shall conclude this long digression with recommending a very circumscribed and cautious confidence to be placed by Europeans—especially those in power—in their native servants. Men who neither have, nor pretend to have, honor themselves, are not the properest guardians for that of others; and when they are detected in having pursued their interest beyond the strict bounds of justice, the master, however innocent, meets with heavy censure; and though his guilt is short of what an ill-natured public think of it, he deserves blame for having placed confidence where he was not warranted. Lord Cornwallis, whose abilities, joined to the opportunities he had of gaining information on this subject, give his opinion the greatest weight, on all occasions testified his marked disapprobation of employing the natives in a confidential manner, and held the master strictly responsible for the acts of his servants."

Nor is the following less remarkable as an indication of the early growth of those opinions respecting the collision of the commercial and political elements in the constitution of the East India Company, and the inexpediency of suffering the former to predominate—opinions which came to be moulded into a leading article of faith with the disciples of what in after years was called the "Malcolm School" of Indian politicians:

"Economy in a Government is, no doubt, a most laudable quality. But it may easily be carried too far; and, by an imprudent practice of it in a rigid degree, it is possible, without any injustice, to ruin the country. The Court of Directors give credit to that Governor who realises the best revenue; he gives the same credit to inferior Boards, they to collectors, and so on: thus a system of realising on the public account as much as possible is established; and if a person of a more liberal judgment points out

the good policy of building granaries, of repairing tanks and roads, of restoring choultries, of walling villages—in short, of any measure that he thinks would tend to the comfort or safety of the inhabitants—that he thinks would alleviate, if not entirely prevent, the horrors they are, from their situation, likely to suffer from war or famine—he is treated as a speculator, and his counsel neglected. In short, they know that the expense attendant on all such schemes would be considerable, and that lessening the revenue even for one year is not the way to gain the approbation of their honorable employers."

In the autumn of 1791, John Malcolm fell sick, and was compelled to proceed to the Coast. He had borne up against the summer-heats better than he had expected;* but in November, although there was much stirring work on hand, for Lord Cornwallis was preparing to advance on Tippoo's capital, his health was so shattered by long exposure to the climate, that he was necessitated to quit the Camp and visit Madras.† From the Presi-

* "I have kept my health," he wrote to his friends at Burnfoot, "as yet, better than could have been expected from being obliged to march at such a season. You will think me a traveller, when I assure you that the thermometer has been upwards of 100 degrees every day since we left Kurpa, and was, the day before yesterday, 110 degrees, in the coolest tent of the lines. We have not had a shower of rain for four months, and have little prospect of being blessed with any for two months to come. The state of the country is indescribable. So many of the inhabitants have already perished from want, that even if a fall of rain would admit of their once more cultivating their country, I am afraid that there are not enough left to perform the work of cultivation. . . . . We have our Camp at present in a thick wood near the hills. We expect daily to move towards our old fort, Copoulee. It and all the countries around it were ceded by the late treaty to the Nizam. The inhabitants found the difference between the mild and just government of Tippoo and the oppressive and weak management of the Nizam too great to bear. They were plundered by the Nizam's officers, and have, in consequence, rebelled. We are to be sent to reduce them—poor wretches!—to obedience, and to be the instruments of oppression. It is with the utmost difficulty that rice is procured to supply our troops; and as the supplying the Camp almost entirely falls on my station, I cannot now leave Camp, which I intend to do as soon as possible, and to pay a visit to my brother and the sea-coast." This letter, like many of Malcolm's at all periods of his career, is without date. How much easier biography would be, if so large a portion of its materials were not, for want of some record of the time and place of their birth, utterly valueless without an exercise of inference and analogy very troublesome indeed to the biographer.

† I have not been able to trace the precise spot at which he quitted Camp and proceeded to the Coast, but if Malcolm at this time (the latter end of 1791) was, as Mr. Græme Mercer re-

dency, where it would seem that he was almost tempted to apply for leave on sick-certificate to England, and to take his passage in the *Manship*, he wrote to his mother, on the 9th of January, 1792, "You will learn from other letters the situation of my health. I leave this in four hours for Camp. The packet *Canada* is this instant come from England. I have as yet got no letters, but am just going into the fort along with Mr. Haliburton (at whose gardens I now live) to try and get some, if there are any for me. Mr. Petrie has promised much, and his behaviour to me since I came down to Madras has been very attentive. I have not seen Colonel Harris yet, but will, I hope, soon. He is able to serve me if he has inclination."

And it was well that he did not return to England. Had he done so, he would have lost an opportunity which might never have been regained. He joined Lord Cornwallis's camp before Seringapatam, and his merits were soon recognised and rewarded by that nobleman. It happened that an officer with some knowledge of the Persian language was required to act as interpreter to the troops serving with the Nizam; and Malcolm, then a lieutenant, was selected, on the score of especial fitness, for the post. It is probable that Sir John Kennaway, who accompanied the army, brought his young friend's qualifications to the notice of the Governor-General. Be this as it may, John Malcolm had now planted his foot on the ladder; and from this time, to the close of his career, he was uninterruptedly employed on the Staff.*

lates, "speeling tent-poles with Edmonstone," he must have reached the head-quarters of the army; for the latter gentleman was at that time Persian translator to Lord Cornwallis, who was at Bangalore in November.

* Nearly thirty years afterwards, Malcolm wrote to his old friend, Mr. Cockburn: "I served as a regimental officer with European and Native corps (without ever having one week's leave of absence) for nine years. In 1792, when at Seringapatam, I was appointed Persian interpreter to the detachment serving with the Nizam by the Marquis Cornwallis, on the express ground of being the officer with that corps best qualified for the station."

On his return to Camp, he wrote to the family at Burnfoot:

"I wrote you last when I was on my return to Camp, after an absence of two months, which my health necessitated me to make. I was very near taking my passage at that time in the *Manship*, and I almost wish now that I had. I should have been, at this time, most probably enjoying good health and amongst my relations. Don't think that I have any great attachment to those cold regions that you live in—so far from it, that were my relations in India, I never would think of home. When I can afford it a little better than I now can, I will, *sans doubte*, take a trip to see my friends, and at the same time renovate a broken constitution.

"When our little Camp was ordered to halt here, we were warned from building, as our stay was supposed to be very uncertain. But this could not prevent a set of men who had been three years in bad tents from housing themselves. In short, we thought it was impossible to pay too dearly for a little comfort, and erected a cantonment of very excellent buildings. My house consists of a hall, bedroom, cook-room, and stable, which cost me about three hundred rupees. I have now been in it six months, and if I moved to-morrow would not repent the expense. I am a hard student at the Persian when other business does not intervene; and when I meet with a pretty story, shall send a translation home to my sisters. . . . . Why don't they think of sending out a young brother? I want one, that I may play the elder brother and monitor—parts that I am just beginning to learn how to act."

It would seem that soon after his return to Camp, the state of his health little recruited by his brief visit to Madras, compelled him again to repair to the sea-side.*

* This is stated on the authority of Mr. Græme Mercer, who, in a letter already quoted in part, says, "On our return to Hyderabad from Seringapatam, I accompanied Sir John Kennaway to the sea-coast, to rally a little after our campaign, when Malcolm joined us. He was then very unwell, and his constitution seemed to be so much broken that I strongly urged him to get leave to return for some time to Europe. He took my advice,

There he met his friends Sir John Kennaway and Mr. Græme Mercer. The war with Tippoo had been brought to a close before the end of February; and the Residency having returned to Hyderabad, these gentlemen had gone down to the Coast to recruit their energies after the fatigues of the campaign. The climate of the country had for some time been doing its sure work upon Malcolm's constitution. He had been much exposed to the sun during the worst season of the year, and his health had suffered to such an extent, that it was beyond the power of a brief sojourn at the sea-side to repair the ravages it had sustained. He was unwilling to return to England, for he believed that he was now in a fair way to rise in his profession. But it was impossible to struggle any longer against the increasing debility which rendered exertion painful, and good public service almost an impossibility. His friends counselled the trial of a milder climate. Sir John Kennaway himself was then about to return to England, and he recommended that Malcolm should accompany him. The good advice was not thrown away. The young soldier sent in his papers, obtained leave of absence, and in the cold season of 1793-94 prepared to embark for England. In the course of February,* the vessel in which he had taken his passage sailed out of the Madras Roads; and under the invigorating influence of the pure breezes on the open sea and the *dolce-far-niente* of life on shipboard, his health soon began to revive.

Of this homeward voyage I know little, except that he devoted some part of his abundant leisure to the study

and as Kennaway was also returning to Europe, Malcolm embarked with him in the course of the following season."

* "In February, 1794, I was obliged to embark for England for the recovery of my health, which had suffered severely from the fatigues to which I had been exposed during the four years that I had been in the field with the Nizam's detachment."—[*MS. Memorandum.*]

of the Oriental languages, in which he was assisted by his friend Kennaway. That he either quarrelled, or intrigued, or over-ate himself, as men are wont on shipboard, I do not think very probable. But I have little doubt that he promoted and took active part in every frolicsome expedient for relieving the tedium and diversifying the monotony of the voyage, which his own ingenuity or that of his fellow-passengers could devise. Even a retiring Governor-General, embarking in the midst of an unexampled crisis, has been known to divert himself with pitch-and-toss on the way home. And we may fairly assume that "Boy Malcolm" played at ship-billiards and leap-frog on the quarter-deck, and at whist in the cuddy; that he shot Cape-hens, haply an albatross or two; speared porpoises and bonetes, and angled off the poop for sharks. It would have been very much unlike him, not to have been foremost in all such recreations as these.

In the course of July he reached England, from which he had been absent some twelve years. They had been years of toil and trial bravely and hopefully encountered. He had borne the burden and heat of the day during those years as one of the working officers of the army; and they had made him a good soldier. Henceforth we shall see him mainly in the character of a diplomatist and an administrator. But he had learnt much during his early subaltern-life in Southern India—much that was never forgotten. The habits and the feelings of a soldier clung to him throughout his career. Whatever might be his official environments, his heart was continually turning with a tender and sympathising interest to the single-poled tent of the regimental officer and the matted hut of the faithful Sepoy.

CHAPTER III.

FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND.

[1794—1795.]

RESTORATION OF HEALTH—DETENTION IN LONDON—INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL CLARKE—VISITS TO BURNFOOT AND ALVA—RESOLUTION TO RETURN TO INDIA—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VOYAGE—APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF GENERAL CLARKE—DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND—CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE records of John Malcolm's sojourn in England at this time are but scanty. The benefit which he derived from the homeward voyage was so great, that he had scarcely set foot on his native soil before he began to think that he was in a condition to return to India again. Nothing but necessity could keep him away from the scenes on which something within him whispered that he was destined to achieve distinction.

It was great joy to him to be in Eskdale again—to receive the blessings of his parents and the embraces of his sisters—and to look with a man's eyes upon the dear old burn and the familiar hills, which had put on their best purple to greet him. But he had work to do in London—not the less imperative because it was not marked out by others, and written down in an order-

book. So the autumn found him busy in the great metropolis; with his heart at Burnfoot all the same.*

The constitution of the Anglo-Indian army was at this time a prominent subject of investigation and discussion with the authorities of the East India Company and the Crown, and in all military circles throughout India and the mother country. The Company's army had for some time been in an extreme state of depression. It was ridden over at all points by the royal service. The Company's officers did all the drudgery work; the King's bore all the honors. For the former there was no higher rank than that of colonel. The battalions were commanded by captains. Promotion was intolerably languid. There were no retiring pensions. There was no furlough-pay even for sick officers. This state of things, severely felt as it was throughout the commissioned ranks of the army, had been readily apprehended by the benevolent mind of Lord Cornwallis, who had drawn up a scheme for the reorganisation of the Indian service, which was naturally regarded with extraordinary interest by all whom it concerned, both at home and abroad. From the armies of the three Presidencies deputies were despatched to England to watch the momentous proceedings of the authorities; and wherever the English uniform was worn, or

* To one of his sisters he wrote in October: "I fear there is little prospect of my being down in Scotland as soon as I expected. The present is a very eventful time for my interests, and I must attend to it myself, or I cannot expect others will. I want no extra-inducements to hasten my return to Burnfoot. My inclinations, when I can indulge them, will always lead me there, for rest assured that I drag a lengthened chain everywhere else." From another letter, written a week afterwards, I may take a brief passage: "My uncle and I," wrote John Malcolm, "went to see the new play; but finding the doors of Covent Garden Theatre not open, we wandered over to Drury Lane, and were tempted in to see Shakspeare's *As You Like It*, which was inimitably well performed. Mrs. Jordan acted *Rosalind*. She is incomparable. The plaudits bestowed upon her shook the house; and she deserved them all. No one ever copied nature with more success. I wish you had her in Langholm for a fortnight."—[*October* 30, 1794.]

men were gathered together who had once worn it, there was this great project earnestly discussed.

It was natural that a question so important in itself, and personally so interesting to every officer of the Company's service, should have engaged at this time much of Malcolm's attention. He communicated his ideas respecting the claims of the Company's officers to many men in authority at home, and appealed to the general Public through the medium of the Press. His first appearance as a public writer was in a long letter signed "MULLAGATAUNAY," and published, I believe, in the *North Briton*, in which the whole question is considered in a very clear and comprehensive manner. The grievances under which the Company's officers labored were described, one by one, in language at once forcible and moderate. He dwelt upon the galling fact that no officer of the Indian army could, by the existing system, rise higher than the rank of colonel. He spoke of the services that had been rendered by men brought up in the bosom of that army—by Lawrence, by Clive, by Smith; of their knowledge of the manners and languages of the people of India, which gave them "innumerable advantages over a general immediately appointed from home;" and asked whether it was just or politic to tell such a body of men that they were not only forbidden to aspire to the chief command,*

* Speaking of the chief command, he said in a subsequent paragraph: "I freely own that I conceive the station of Commander-in-Chief of any of the three settlements to be one of so serious and important a nature, and to involve so much responsibility, that I am convinced the selection of a man for that office will and always should remain in the hands of the Ministry; but I hope they will be happy to seize the first opportunity that offers of showing that when they meet with a man whose known abilities and past actions speak him equal to the task, his being a Company's officer shall be no preclusion to his being elevated to that distinguished rank. It ought, on the contrary, to give him additional claims." Sixty years have passed since this was written; but the invidious distinction of which Malcolm then complained has not yet been practically removed. No officer of the Company's service has been appointed to the chief command of one of our Indian Presidencies, up to the time in which I now write—the summer of 1855.

but that they were never to attain any higher rank than that of colonel—"in plain language," he said, "that they were only qualified to fill subordinate stations, and that men educated on the fields of Germany or America should be regularly sent to lead them to victory on the plains of Hindostan." Then he referred to the stagnation of promotion in the Company's army. He showed how, in an army lacking the higher grades, and recently subjected to great reductions in the strength of its establishment, the avenues to promotion were necessarily blocked up; he pointed out that a battalion of Sepoys, as the army was then constituted, of the strength of a King's regiment, was commanded by a captain and eight subalterns, and that a captain of one of the royal regiments, commanding only a company, superseded the Company's officer in command of an entire corps. "To obviate this," he said, "and to give that promotion which the Company's officers have such good reason to expect, it is requested that a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and a similar number of captains and subalterns as are deemed necessary for the discipline and duties of a corps in every other service, be appointed to each Sepoy battalion."* "This measure adopted," he added, "the stream will again flow; hope will take the place of despondency. The drooping veteran will revive, and anxiously seek an opportunity of showing he is not ungrateful to his country for the notice it has deigned to take of him."

Having brought forward other cogent arguments in support of the expediency of increasing the number of Sepoy officers, Malcolm proceeded to point out the third

* It need hardly be said that the reorganisation here spoken of was carried into effect. But owing to the increased longevity of Indian officers, promotion is not more rapid than it was under the old system. In this paper Malcolm says: "By a calculation made on the average of the three Presidencies, the youngest major-general would have served in India thirty years," &c. The average age of the major-generals of the Company's service is now sixty-two; which gives an average of more than forty years of service.

great grievance of the Company's army—the want of proper Furlough and Retiring Regulations. He showed that if a Company's officer, on account of ill-health contracted, or wounds inflicted in the public service, was necessitated to leave the country for a while, his pay immediately ceased until his return; and that, in consequence of the non-existence of any "comfortable and honorable retreat for the wounded and infirm veteran in his native country, he was compelled to pass the rest of a short life in an ungenial climate, banished from his native country and from every one he holds most dear, or return to his friends, after an absence of twenty years, an object of charity, abandoned by those masters in whose service he had lost his blood, or spent his days of vigor and youth." We read of this state of things now as we do of the rack or the thumb-screw, with curious antiquarian interest. The Furlough and Retiring Regulations of the East India Company's army are now the most liberal and most humane that have ever been devised for any military establishment in the world.

Having thus set forth the peculiar grievances of the Company's army, Malcolm declared that there was good reason to believe that they would be speedily removed, as the interests of the Company's army had been entrusted to good and to true hands:

"It is peculiarly fortunate," he wrote in conclusion, "that those who from their stations must decide on the claims of the Company's army, are men eminently qualified for the task. The Court of Directors are disposed to grant every relief; and Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, has in his plans for the Government of India evinced a most extensive knowledge of the British interests in the East, and has suggested a mode of securing and improving them that does equal credit to his wisdom and liberality. No man could give a more enlightened opinion upon this subject; but he, and every other person, seem to turn their eyes upon the Marquis Cornwallis as the person who, from great abilities and recent experience, is best calculated

to recommend a satisfactory plan for the new modelling of the Indian army. And from whom can the Company's officers expect a more equitable consideration than from that elevated character who for a period of six years had a daily opportunity of observing, and so often gave the most flattering testimonies of his approbation and admiration of their conduct? No one ever more lamented the grievances he saw they were at times obliged to endure, from the narrowness of the system upon which their service is now established. . . . . In my opinion, the interests of the army cannot be in better hands. I may be accused of being too sanguine, but I shall never cease to think as I now do until the event proves that I have erred."

This paper attracted some notice at the time, and in conjunction with other communications of a more private character, recommended the Madras subaltern to the consideration of men in authority. Among others who recognised the value of the document, and noticed with commendation the writer, was Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control.* It was the first of those numerous elaborate papers on the military affairs of our Indian Empire, which caused him in time to be regarded as the very first authority on all subjects connected with the affairs of the Indian army.† Nor at this time were all his efforts made with the pen. He was one of many Company's officers who met in London to deliberate on the affairs of the army. "I will accompany Pulteny to Cambridge to see you if I can," he wrote, on the 21st of

* In a memorandum of his services, written many years afterwards, Malcolm says: "When in England, circumstances led to my making public my sentiments on the military arrangements for the Company's army, which were then under discussion; and the tendency which those sentiments had to inform and satisfy the public mind upon that subject was recognised by Lord Melville, then President of the Board of Control, and several other distinguished characters, in terms flattering to my feelings."

† See the latest testimony to this effect in the speech of Sir Erskine Perry, on the 10th of May, 1855. The speaker, however, erred when he cited Sir John Malcolm as an authority in favor of the amalgamation of the Queen's and Company's army. This subject will be noticed in a subsequent chapter of the Memoir.

October, to his brother Gilbert, then a student at that university, "but I have been attending meetings (no treason) these last two days, and shall be in the same predicament for four or five more. A ship soon leaves this for India, and the Company's officers now in London are attending to the interests of their fellow-soldiers. You will change your address of *Lieutenant* to *Captain* in a month or two."

It would seem that during this sojourn in London he renewed his acquaintance, either personally or by letter, with General Ross, who had been secretary to Lord Cornwallis; and that partly through the General's influence, and partly through that of Colonel Dirom, who had been Quartermaster-General during the first Mysore war, and had written a history of the campaign, he was recommended to the favorable notice of Sir Alured Clarke. That officer was about to proceed as Commander-in-Chief to Madras, and appeared not unwilling to listen to the recommendations which were made to him in favor of Lieutenant Malcolm. At what precise period the introduction took place I do not know; but it led in time to important results, and shaped the whole future of Malcolm's career.

There were others, too, with whom he renewed his acquaintance—his brothers Pulteny and James. They arrived from the West Indies in October, and John met them with a full heart, delighted to embrace them again. Both were on the high road to distinction. It was a happy meeting, made happier by the circumstances that, during his brief visit to London, Lord Chatham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, made Pulteny a post-captain, and soon afterwards appointed him to the command of the *Fox*.*

The family pictures of the young sailor drawn at this

* "I was fully resolved to visit Cambridge, but yesterday Lord Chatham put it out of my power by appointing me to the *Fox*, well manned and ready

time are very charming. "I never saw Pulteny look so well," wrote one of his sisters from Burnfoot, to which he paid a brief visit in November. "He is very handsome, and has the most open, manly countenance I ever saw. His manner is uncommonly cheerful, and he possesses a flow of good-humoured raillery. He will be the delight of every party he enters. He only stayed with us one week."

Of James, too, "our open-hearted, generous James," these sisters wrote in terms of loving eulogy. And what said they of John? We may be sure he did not appear less attractive in their eyes. "I dare say," wrote one sister to brother Gilbert, then studying at Cambridge, "you are longing for a letter about our Indian brother. The cause of our silence is really the delight we take in that brother, which makes us regret every moment we are absent from him. When every one prepared us to love and admire him, we scarcely dared hope our expectations would be fulfilled; and I must not hesitate to pronounce them surpassed." "I do not think I have written to you," wrote another sister to Gilbert, "since I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with this most excellent brother, of whom I think more highly than I can express. His heart, head, disposition and manners, are truly excellent. Any one of them taken separately, and placed among even unpleasant qualities, would render a character worthy of admiration; but when united, as in his attractive person, they form a character that does honor to the human race. Your friend Mrs. Elliot writes of him in the highest terms; and Mr. Johnstone says he is the finest young man he ever saw." Good reason, indeed, had those young Eskdale lassies

for sea. I shall join her to-morrow. John is with me, and will, I hope, accompany me to Portsmouth. The few days I spent at Burnfoot were delightful. Nowhere do I find such a house." In the *Fox*, Pulteny Malcolm carried out Colonel Arthur Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington) to India.

to be proud of three such brothers as James, Pulteny, and John Malcolm!

Nor were these all of whom something must be said in this place. George Malcolm, it has been stated, had ten sons. Robert, the eldest, as has been shown, was in the Madras Civil Service. Then followed James, Pulteny, and John. Thomas, the fifth son, was engaged in mercantile affairs; and two younger brothers, David and William, were in training for a similar line of life. Another son, George, a Lieutenant in the Navy, had died early in this year (1794) of yellow fever, at the boyish age of eighteen.* Charles, then a boy, was to enter the same service under Pulteny's protection; and Gilbert, the sixth son, was then a student at Cambridge; a youth of promising talents, amiable disposition, and unostentatious piety, which ripened into the perfection of a character suited to the career that was marked out for him—the peaceful career of a country clergyman.

* The death of George cast a broad shadow over the family party at Burnfoot, and filled every member of it not only with grief for the dead, but fear for the living. Pulteny and James were in the West Indies, within the influence of the yellow fever, and John, by the last accounts, in bad health in the East. In a family of seventeen children, it was a proof of the signal favor of the Almighty that death up to this time had not once broken in upon their happiness. But for the very reason, perhaps, that they were so favored they felt the blow most severely when it came. The family letters, written early in 1794, contain many such passages as these: "We have many causes of alarm at present. You would observe the arrival of the *Queen Charlotte*. She seems to have spoken with several homeward-bound ships, in one of which we hope John may be. Sometimes we flatter ourselves that Robert or John may have written, but if no letters come by this day's post, this hope will vanish. Were we to hint to my father our hopes that John may arrive in tolerable health, he would consider us wanting in feeling." —"Pulteny, I fear, is in the greatest danger. That fatal fever still rages. May our Almighty God preserve him. What a shock George's death will be to James on his arrival. But nothing is to be compared with what poor Pulteny must have felt on going on board the *Penelope* to see him for the last time." — "We had two of the kindest letters from uncle John (Pasley). He is very anxious, he allows, about John, but he will not suffer a gloomy thought on the subject. God grant he may reach us in tolerable health." — He arrived in such excellent health and admirable condition that many jokes were cut at his expense. One of the Directors of the Company, on seeing him, observed, drily, that "the Indian gentlemen have a happy knack of recovering their health on the voyage."

Nor were the sisters of the family unworthy of their brothers. "You said a great deal," wrote John to a member of the family, "but I now think that you gave but a cold description of Burnfoot and its inhabitants." He was as much pleased with them as they were with him. The meeting could not have been a happier one.

But the happiness was only too brief. The young soldier spent his Christmas at Burnfoot; and it would seem that, during the visit, he finally resolved to return to India in the course of the ensuing spring, with a good prospect of accompanying General Clarke as secretary or aide-de-camp. From Burnfoot he went to Edinburgh, and thence to Alva, the estate of the Johnstones. From that place he wrote to one of his sisters at Burnfoot, on the 18th of January:

"You don't seem pleased with my resolution to return to India; but I am sure I will convince you when we meet that I have not only acted a prudent part, but that I should have been highly culpable had I done otherwise. I applied to Mr. Bell, and rather exaggerated than diminished in my account of both my past and present ailings; and his opinion was decided and positive for me to go. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' &c., and I like to go with the tide in my favor. I have tugged against it in my day.

"My uncle John, in answer to my letter from Burnfoot, strongly objects to my return, and urges much against it. In his answer to a very full one I wrote from Edinburgh, he allows that the reasons I give for the part I then determined to act were unanswerable, and that he could not but approve. I am yet in the dark with regard to General Clarke's motions, but must be in London before the middle of February. *If* I go with him (there is much virtue in your *if*), most undoubtedly it will be as one of his family. . . . . I pass my time very pleasantly here. I keep much within doors for two reasons:—1st. The continual fall of snow for some days past has rendered both riding and walking disagreeable. 2ndly. My legs are quite recovered, and I wish not to induce a relapse by too early exertions. I am sorry I was not at home to see and hear Catherine Armstrong. Tell Minny that she speaks of her so highly, that I will waive all con-

siderations of caste, and do hereby empower her to open a treaty of matrimony between her and me."—[*Alva, January* 18, 1795.]

I am told that during this winter he attended some of the college classes in Edinburgh, to which attractive city he returned after his visit to Alva. There are those now living who remember him at that time as a light-hearted, amusing young man of five-and-twenty, with a great thirst after knowledge, and a prodigious memory. He would give the substance, often the very words of a lecture which he had heard, with extraordinary accuracy, or repeat a sermon (sometimes imitating the peculiar manner of the preacher) with equal fidelity. The society of Edinburgh delighted him. It need hardly be said that he was hospitably entertained in a city where every man of good character and intelligence is sure to be hospitably entertained. "You are acquainted with this town," he wrote to his brother Gilbert, on the 22nd of February. "It is, in my opinion, one of the most agreeable I ever was in. Probably the flattering attention I have met with makes me a partial judge. But as there is no place in the world where such encouragement is given to literary men, so I believe there are nowhere to be found men of more deep learning and science. Learning is a plant cultivated in proportion to the demand. Independent of the medical line, the law, and some others, the numerous professors' chairs hold out rewards both of fame and fortune to the aspiring youth. . . . . I have been both instructed and entertained by a casual attendance at some of their classes. I have given up a good deal of my time to the Oriental Professor, a sensible, modest man. His name is Mudie. I have read Persian with him whenever I have had a leisure hour, and have found him grateful to a degree for the little instruction I could give him. I was so happy as to be made acquainted with Dr. Blair, and was in the

habit of paying him frequent visits, until our intercourse was interrupted by a severe misfortune happening to him. His wife, a partner of forty-six years, fell a victim to the severity of the weather."*

A boy who goes out to India at the age of twelve can carry little education with him. John Malcolm had long felt the want of scholastic training, and had been endeavouring to compensate for it by assiduous self-cultivation, carried on as it always must be under difficulties, amidst the turmoil of the camp. The idea of improving his mind had been ever present to him when he turned his thoughts towards home, and had had no small share in inducing him to return to England. "The satisfaction of seeing my relations and the improvement of myself," he wrote to his mother,† "exclusive of the perfect re-establishment of my health, are very great inducements to a man of my way of thinking." "My favorite amusement," he said, in the same letter, "is reading; and being assisted with a good memory, I seldom have occasion to read a work twice. Of all reading I prefer history. It pleases most upon reflection, and the impressions it makes are more lasting. Poetry is a pleasant relaxation, but I believe I expose my want of taste when I confess that there are very few poets that I can dwell upon with much satisfaction. I have for some years past made the languages of this country my

* The winter was a very severe one. In this letter Malcolm says that he was detained at Edinburgh "by an irregular sally of this charming climate for the short space of thirty-two days."

† In this letter, written before his departure from India, Malcolm says: "I left you all so very young that you must have but a faint recollection of me; and what a pleasure it would be to see again those who are so dear to me! I have a flow of spirits that never leave me; and though they have supported me through a long illness, yet I believe it was to them I owe it, as they led me to pursue my amusements with but too little consideration to my health, which was first impaired by a too frequent exposure to the climate in hunting, shooting, &c. As I grow older I shall grow steadier, and pursue both my amusements and my studies with less warmth, and very probably with more advantage. I have sincerely told you what I am, and though I have many foibles, I trust I have few vices."

study, more with the hope of their being useful than entertaining, as their knowledge is very confined, and nothing new to be met with amongst them. I lament much the want of a branch of education which never ought to be neglected in the forming an officer—a complete knowledge of mathematics and drawing. I have labored a good deal to improve myself in these sciences, but the want of proper masters has prevented me from attaining any proficiency in them. If I were ever to revisit my native country I should apply myself closely to these studies." And that he did all that he could do when the time came to fulfil these intentions we may be sure. But great as was his desire to improve himself by entering upon a new academical career, his opportunities were but scanty. The winter was scarcely over when he found himself again in London. All doubts, not only as regarded his return to India, but the situation in which he was to return, had passed away. He was to go out again to Madras, not as an unconnected subaltern, but as a member of the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief. "I go to India this season," he wrote at the end of March, "and shall have been about eight months in my own country before I embark for the East again. But I have not lost one hour of the eight months. Every day has been more joyful than yesterday. I look forward with apprehension to that period when I shall be less alive (for I never can be dead) for those feelings which have made me so happy since I came to Britain." At the end of April he was busily occupied with the necessary arrangements for his voyage. "My departure is yet uncertain," he wrote to Burnfoot on the 28th, "but I am determined the arrangement of my little matter shall not be put off to the last day, and am therefore now despatching my trunks for Portsmouth."

The time for his departure was, however, very near. Whether he had, before shipping his lighter goods for

Portsmouth, taken leave of his family at Burnfoot, or whether, previous to his embarkation, he was able to pay another visit to Eskdale, does not very clearly appear. The parting must have been a painful one; for at the age to which his parents had now attained there was little hope of his ever seeing them again. The benediction which he then received he well knew would be the last in the flesh. The spirit might often go forth to bless him; but those venerable hands had now performed their office for ever.

In the month of May he embarked at Portsmouth. "I have this moment," he wrote on the 14th of that month, "received orders to go on board, as our ship is getting under weigh. I am appointed Secretary to General Clarke, on a secret expedition. My prospects are very flattering." The vessel in which he sailed formed part of a considerable fleet of Company's ships, conveying a large body of European troops to India under the General's command. Of the early part of the voyage I have no private records. It is to be gathered from public despatches* that the fleet stretched out to the coast of South America, and was detained for some time at St. Salvador.† At the beginning of September they sighted the western coast of the Cape of Good Hope, and at daybreak on the 4th looked out upon the picturesque many-coloured hills sloping down to St. Simon's Bay, in which they were securely anchored.

The colony was then in the very crisis of its fate. Its destiny, trembling in the balance, was decided by the opportune arrival of the troops under General Clarke. Whether the Cape of Good Hope was thenceforth to be a Dutch or an English settlement was the great practical question now to be solved. General Craig and Admiral Keith Elphinstone had been for some time main-

* General Clarke to Mr. Dundas, in the Annual Register for 1794.
† Bahia.

taining an unequal contest with the Dutch burghers; and never were reinforcements more welcome than those which Clarke now brought to their aid. But I may leave the story to be told by Malcolm himself, who was a witness and a participator in the events which transferred the Cape colony to hands by which it has ever since been retained:

"We anchored," he wrote in a long narrative and descriptive memorandum, drawn up shortly afterwards, "in Simon's Bay, on the night of the 3rd of September. The General, &c., went on shore next day to see Sir George Elphinstone, whose squadron was lying there. We were soon informed that they were at open war with the Dutch, who had refused to accept of the favorable terms which Sir George and General Craig had offered them. The latter, with a little army of about 2000 men, principally seamen, was encamped at a place called Muysemburg (seven miles from Simon's Town, on the road to the Cape), from which a party had been driven five weeks previous to our arrival, by the fire of some men-of-war sent for the purpose. It had not been judged proper to advance further. Frequent skirmishes had taken place, in which three men on our side had been killed, and three officers and seventeen or eighteen privates wounded. Both fleet and army were in anxious expectation of our appearance, as they had lost all hopes of succeeding without our aid. No time was lost in landing our three regiments and artillery. They were marched immediately to Muysemburg. Their junction made the whole about 5000 men, 3000 of which were soldiers. The remainder were sailors and marines.

"Our greatest difficulty was the transporting provisions to camp. They were carried in boats within two miles of the camp, and from that on the soldiers' backs. The sea at times run very high in the bay to which the boats came, which rendered the task very arduous. But the decided and zealous admiral soon surmounted this difficulty, and principally from his exertions we were enabled to march on the morning of the 14th, with four days' provisions on our men's backs. Eight days' provisions and a quantity of military stores were left under the charge of a strong party at Muysemburg.

"The army marched in two columns. The principal, with

which were the Commander-in-Chief and Major-General Craig, consisted of 3000 men. With it were ten 6-pounders and two howitzers. Its route was the high road for Cape Town. The other column, consisting of 1600 men and two 6-pounders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, marched to the left, to scour the country in that direction. The grenadiers and light infantry were detached to the front, and on the right flank of the main column; and the corps of marines covered the left. Before this column had advanced five hundred yards we observed scattered parties of Burgher horse preparing to annoy our right flank. They were mounted on small but active horses, and were armed with long guns. Some of them had attendants on foot who carried a second firelock. They appeared to have no discipline; and any person who had seen irregular cavalry must instantly have concluded them to be a very contemptible enemy. These Burghers were the farmers of the country, who were far the most violent party against any terms being entered into with us. Unaccustomed to fire at anything but roebucks or ostriches till our arrival, they were eager to try their hand at 'new game,' as they used scoffingly to call our troops. They had met with petty successes against the advanced party of General Craig's little army, whose prudent conduct in not advancing against Cape Town till General Clarke's arrival they readily construed into a fear of their prowess.

"But all their golden dreams were doomed to vanish on this day. Though the ground was particularly favorable for the species of warfare they carried on—high sand-hills covered with brushwood, and intersected with deep *lagunes*, which were only fordable at particular places, which they knew, and of which we were ignorant—they no sooner perceived that our troops were not intimidated by their fire, but advanced as rapidly as the ground would permit, than they fled from one height to another, keeping up an irregular fire, seldom nearer than a quarter of a mile. This skirmishing continued for nearly four miles. The country then opened, and we came to a level plain, about a mile and a half in breadth. On the other side was the hill, or rather eminence of Little Wyndburg. To this, after a little galloping about the plain, the Burgher horse retreated, and joined a party of infantry who were already formed on the summit. Their number appeared altogether nearly 1200—400 of which were cavalry. They had nine field-pieces. The post they occupied was very strong by nature, and the high road lay immediately

through the centre of their line. It was possible, as I afterwards found from observation, to have passed to the right of Wyndburg and out of reach of their cannon. But this circumstance was not known at the time to any one in our camp.

"We halted at the beginning of the plain for the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who, from want of proper guides, had been much detained. They joined about four o'clock, and the whole immediately advanced.

"A detachment of 800 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, were ordered to turn the enemy's left flank; and one of 600, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Murdo, to turn their right; while the remainder advanced in two lines to attack in front. They opened their guns before they could reach us; when we were nearer, some of our field-pieces were advanced, and opened a brisk and well-directed fire, which very soon threw them into confusion; on which the corps composing the front line were ordered to advance. Alarmed at this, and at the appearance of the parties on their flanks, the enemy took flight. Having excellent cattle, they easily drew off their guns. Our advanced corps pursued them till they reached the Great Wyndburg. Here, as it was dark, the General ordered the whole to halt and lie on their arms for the night. We found the casualties of the day had been very trifling—particularly considering the great noise that had been made. One man killed and about twenty wounded (two of whom are since dead) on our part; and a few more on that of the Dutch.

"The fugitives carried the alarm into the town; and at ten o'clock at night a flag came from Governor Sluyskin, &c., requesting a truce for forty-eight hours: one for twenty-four was granted. General Craig met some commissioners from Cape Town half-way from Camp on the morning of the 15th, when the capitulation was agreed upon; and on the 16th the fort, the ordnance stores, &c., were taken possession of for his Britannic Majesty.

"Nothing could have been more fortunate than the termination of this affair. Had the original terms offered by Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig (before the arrival of our fleet) been accepted, our commanders would have been tied down to the invidious task of supporting a system of government deservedly odious to almost all classes. The divided authority of the civil government, under the Prince of Orange, and the military, under his Britannic Majesty, would have proved a continual source of

discord. No blame can be inferred from this on these two commanders, who acted under direct orders from home, and whose primary object was to get possession by any means. The force they had was not equal to the reduction of it; and the arrival of our fleet in time was uncertain. On the other hand, had they obliged us, by continuing an infatuated resistance, to attack the lines, the consequences would have been dreadful. Our success would have been certain; and no power could have restrained an army composed, like ours, of wild sailors, and raw—I might almost say undisciplined—soldiers, from carnage and plunder. Of their tendency that way we had sufficient proofs. General Clarke, by taking every precaution possible, prevented any depredations of consequence.

"We were no sooner in possession of the place than the commanders began to try by every means in their power to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, to conciliate their affection, and to reconcile them to the sudden change of government. This, to judge from outward appearance, they were successful in; for, in a very few days, all seemed restored to its former state. The women, who had mostly fled to the country on hostilities commencing, returned. Even the most violent Burghers, allured by the prospect of gain, began to bring in their cattle. Every man followed his former occupation, and a stranger would not have believed a change had happened."

From this memorandum of public events, which contains one of the clearest narratives of the circumstances attending the surrender of the Cape which I have ever read, we may turn now to the record of Malcolm's individual impressions. In a passage of a letter to his eldest sister we see not only what he thought of the Cape and its people, but what he thought of his situation on the General's Staff, and how he was employed during the two months which elapsed before his departure:

"I remain behind with the General, and do not expect to leave this before the 15th of November. My situation with General Clarke is everything that I could wish. He is a man of a stamp not often met with—mild and gentlemanlike in his manners, clear and just in his own conduct. He is a declared foe to all dark dealings and to peculation; and in everything that

regards the Government he is scrupulously just beyond any man I ever knew. He never will, I am convinced, himself make an indirect halfpenny; nor allow any person whom he can control to do it. This is a proper man for an Indian to be with, for you know we are all reported to have very different sentiments. He carries on a good-humoured war with my negligent habits, and my desire to please him makes me endeavour to conquer *them*. I never was a swearer; but I can venture to say I never now, even in an unguarded moment, let slip an oath. He abominates the practice.

"This is a charming place—not very large, but uncommonly neat and clean. The appearance is like the best part of Glasgow. Their meat, vegetables, and fruit, are superior to (those of) any country I ever was in; and their wines, of which they have great variety, are excellent. Had I been rich enough, I would have purchased some Constantia; but it is very dear, so I must therefore defer for a short period sending a pipe to Burnfoot.

"The inhabitants of the town are a cheerful, good-humoured people—rather too phlegmatic; not so mad as I could wish them, but on the whole make an agreeable society for sober-minded people. The *Dyong-Frows* are some of them very pretty—play on the harpsichord, and *danse bien tolerable*. They appeared more lovely when their decent modest manners* were contrasted with the ridiculous extravagance, both in dress and manners, of some young ladies escaped from a London seminary on their flight to India, to lead the fashions there, whose behaviour made *me* blush for them. I was at great pains to assure all I was acquainted with that they were very different from the young ladies in general in Great Britain. . . . .

"I have got an honorable, but troublesome, employment in recruiting men out of the prisoners of war for the service of the Company in India. A set of finer fellows I never knew—all Germans. I have been very successful. I have hitherto acted together with Lieutenant Owen from Bengal; but as he sails tomorrow, the whole business falls on my shoulders. I expect in a month to have upwards of 200 for Madras. Nearly 300 are already embarked for Bombay and Bengal."

* Lady Andrew Barnard, who went to the Cape with Lord Macartney two years afterwards, gave a very unfavorable account of the decency and modesty of the young ladies of the Cape. Whatever their manners may have been, it seems that their morals were execrable.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STAFF AT MADRAS.

[1796—1798.]

APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—THE MILITARY SECRETARYSHIP—LETTERS TO BURNFOOT—DEPARTURE OF SIR ALURED CLARKE—APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF GENERAL HARRIS—DEPARTURE OF LORD HOBART—THE TOWN-MAJORSHIP OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

On his return to India in the cold season of 1795-96, John Malcolm found himself still a lieutenant. But as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, he was in a better position than many a much older officer. And how happy and contented he was (in all respects but that of separation from his family), the following hastily-written, but characteristic letters to Burnfoot, plainly declare :

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS MOTHER.

Madras, Feb. 6, 1796.

My dear Mother,—Although I am told that the ships will not sail for near a fortnight, I shall seize this leisure moment to write to you. I am well, and situated in every respect as I could wish. I am secretary to General Clarke, who is, without exception, one of the best men I ever knew. The employment is of that nature as to leave me hardly one idle moment—all the better you will say; and all the better *I* say. The sight of all of you at home has filled my breast with emulation to be worthy of such relations. Bob will be rewarded for all his trouble in a princely

manner. He is, to a positive certainty, to be nominated Commercial Resident at Vizagapatam, an appointment worth 4000*l.* a year. His prospects now are great, and it is fortunate for all who have claims upon him, for he has a noble heart. In disposition, he resembles more his father than any of the others, as I have often told you—anxious and warm, but only for the moment.

'Tis a serious disappointment to both our not being destined soon to meet, for I have a thousand things to communicate which I never can by letter, though I (should) give him one once a day. . . . .

Ever your affectionate son,

JOHN MALCOLM.

TO HIS SISTER MINA.

Madras, Aug. 6, 1796.

MY DEAR MINNY,— . . . . Experience makes wise. I have determined to surmount all that dread that used to attach to the writing of Europe letters, and though I may now and then honor the seniors of the family with a production, you insignificant folks shall have nothing but hasty, uncorrected effusions. These shall be short, but frequent. My present situation leaves me but little time at my own disposal; but we must be attendant and dependent upon the will of others before we can expect attendance and dependence on our own.

Bob is well, and must soon be a man of affluent fortune. Jack is on the road to preferment, but not of a lucrative nature. If he has good luck, he will be able to show hundreds for Bob's thousands, ten years hence. Fortune was pictured blind, but she was clear-sighted when she made your elder brother one of her favorites. He has not a thought of the value of money but as it enables him to indulge the dictates of his noble disposition. I would give the world for a month's leisure to go and see him. . . . .

I have hardly wrote a line of poetry since I left you. My time is so completely engaged, and it is, perhaps, one of the most idle amusements in the world. Should (which is very probable) my next situation give me more employment than this, I will commence encore, and sing you all to sleep. . . . . Stephy mentions a long letter from you, in which you give a description of a Miss Coates and a Miss Munro. The latter I have seen. Her

brother Tom* is a constant correspondent of mine. He is an uncommon clever fellow.

Ever yours most affectionately,

J. M.

At this time Sir John Shore was Governor-General of India. Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras. And Sir R. Abercromby was Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. In the beginning of 1797, the last-named officer resigned his command, and Sir Alured Clarke stood appointed to succeed him. The vacancy thus created at Madras was filled by the appointment of General Harris, who was then at Calcutta, to the command of the Coast army. Early in the month of March, 1797, Sir Alured Clarke sailed for Bengal; and General Harris, on assuming the duties of his new office, appointed his predecessor's military secretary to the same situation on his own staff.

There were circumstances, with the precise nature of which I am not acquainted, to place it out of the power of Sir Alured Clarke to appoint Malcolm his military secretary at the Chief Presidency.† But, attached as the

* The late Sir Thomas Munro.

† The appointment of Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal was, in those days of splendid contracts and munificent jobs, a most lucrative one. The following extract from a letter written to Malcolm by a friend at Lucknow exhibits, in a very amusing manner, the perquisites of office:

"At the same time that I shall be disappointed in not seeing you in Bengal, I am very glad that it will be owing to your having secured a comfortable and advantageous situation at Madras. In your readiness to sacrifice a splendid prospect to secure a moderate advantage, you have shown your good sense; but it is possible you may not be aware of all the advantages which belong to the Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. You would receive from 800 to 1000 rupees per month for pay, batta, and house-rent, as Secretary; and you would have the management of the military dawk without the provinces, which is worth 2500 to 3000 per month. The allowance for laying the dawk is 2700 rupees, and the expense does not exceed 400, which is more than defrayed by the postage of letters. Taking your advantages at 3500 rupees, and supposing General Clarke will remain three years in Bengal, I cannot help thinking it would be much to your advantage to come round with him. You would be able to save a lakh of rupees; nor, after having fulfilled the respectable situation of Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, would you find any difficulty in obtaining an appointment at Madras of equal value with your present one whenever you chose to return to that establish-

latter was to his old master,* he found his new position as secretary to General Harris an agreeable one; and his letters, whilst a member of that excellent man's family, are full of cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirit. "You, with all the rest," he wrote to one of his sisters on the 15th of March, 1797, "will be rejoiced at my good fortune, the particulars of which I have wrote to my father. Pulteny is ordered to Bengal, which, though it disappoints my expectation of seeing him soon, I am happy at, as it affords him an opportunity of refreshing his crew, who are mostly ill of the scurvy; and he has already seen his elder brother. The family I am now in is an uncommon pleasant one. The General appears everything that is honest and worthy—Madame, an amiable, good woman; and Mademoiselle, sensible, pleasing, and unaffected. This is a sketch on a very short acquaintance. I promise that you shall become acquainted with them as fast as I do. . . . . General Clarke left us on the 6th instant. I never felt more than in parting with him. His attention to me was excessive; and I

ment."—[*Mr. George Johnstone, Lucknow, to Lieut. John Malcolm; October* 26, 1796.]

From the date of this letter, it would appear that Malcolm had secured the succession to the military secretaryship at Madras as far back as the autumn of 1796. But Mr. Lushington, in his Life of Lord Harris, says that "in the month of January, 1797, he (Harris) received at Calcutta the unexpected intelligence of his appointment to command the army of Madras." This seeming discrepancy must be accounted for on the hypothesis, either that the allusion in Mr. Johnstone's letter is to the Town-Majorship of Madras, the reversion of which may have been secured to him by Lord Hobart; or that the gift of the Military Secretaryship was in the hands of the Governor, and had been promised by him to John Malcolm. Mr. Lushington, indeed, tells us that Lord Harris, "after a short experience of his position in the Council of Madras, felt that the military patronage was so entirely in the hands of the Civil Government, as to be detrimental to the public service." This would appear to be the true solution of the difficulty.

* The attachment was reciprocal. Sir Alured, soon after his departure, wrote to Malcolm, saying, "Lord Hobart, I hope, will continue his friendly attention to you. Mine you may always rely upon. For, to be sincere, long acquaintance has satisfied me that the rectitude of your head and heart entitle you to expect and receive from me all those good offices which the partiality of your other friends wished me to show you when we first met."

have every reason to believe that he was as sorry to leave me as I was to stay. He condescended to tell me the circumstances which placed it out of his power to make my situation in Bengal equal to what it was in Madras; and in a point where my interest was the chief thing consulted, attending him was out of the question. I sincerely hope that he will return, as I have good reason to think it will be seriously for my advantage; and I am sure he is a man who, from his just and dispassionate character, is peculiarly fitted to shine in a high civil station. . . . . I keep my health uncommonly well —rather inclined to get too stout. However, the constant exercise I use will prevent that, in some degree. . . . . I am not fond of going out visiting at night. The truth is, I get sleepy. I fear that this is a symptom of age. To-night I am on duty, having the honor of attending Mrs. and Miss Harris to return about a dozen visits. I wish it were over. . . . . You know I can be the most serious man on earth when I assume that character. I have not found that necessary for more than five hours of my life, and I hope that I may laugh through the remainder as happily. Laughing or crying, I always am your affectionate brother."

It may be gathered from his letters that John Malcolm was never more in a "laughing" mood than at this period of his life. He had good health, good spirits, and good prospects. He was still "Boy Malcolm;" and he wrote both to his friends in India and to dear old Burnfoot in a strain which must have imparted something of its own cheerfulness to the recipients of his laughing epistles. A young officer on the staff of a governor or commander-in-chief leads a careless, though not an idle life. He is in the midst of public affairs, but he is scarcely *of* them. He sees history, but does not act it. He has all the excitement, but none of the responsibilities of greatness.

He shares the pomp, but not the troubles of office. John Malcolm at this time saw little of diplomacy, except its ceremonials; and at these he could afford to laugh. The following letters—the first of which relates to a grand public interview between the Governor of Madras and the Nabob of the Carnatic*—are significant of the elasticity and sunny-heartedness of the writer at this time:

JOHN MALCOLM TO COLONEL CLIFFE.

Madras, April 7, 1797.

My dear Cliffe,—It is some time since I wrote to you, and had matters gone on without any extraordinaries, I should have been silent longer—but we have had this morning a grand ceremony. To do it justice by description exceeds my ability; but I will attempt to give you an idea of it.

At nine o'clock, all Company's servants assembled in the Governor's house in the Fort, and at ten the procession set out for the Nabob's. Josiah Webbe, Esq., the Grand Secretary, went first in a palanquin. He bore on his knees a silver salver, curiously carved, on which lay a gold-embroidered purse that contained the important letter from the Company to the Nabob. It was followed by a party of troopers, who preceded the Right Honorable Lord Baron Hobart, who rode in a state-coach, attended by aides-de-camp Beresford and Burroughs; after which, in a chariot, came Lieutenant-General Harris, accompanied by Major Gardiner; next Colonel John Richardson, in a bandy, with an ornamented hood; and after him Captains Young and Malcolm, in a neat Calcutta buggy. Mr. Councillor Saunders and Postmaster-General Rowley followed in a post-chaise. Colonel Close, Adjutant-General of the Army, in a palanquin, covered the left flank of the select line; Mr. Private-Secretary Adderley the right; whilst their rear was protected by the body-guard, under Lieutenant Montgomery, whose gallant appearance and active

* Oomdut-ool-Omrah. His predecessor, Mahomet Ali, died in 1795. But communication in Europe was tardy in those days; and it was not until the spring of 1797 that the customary congratulations of the Home Government on the accession of the new Prince reached Madras.

exertions on this occasion it would be unpardonable to pass in silence.

Various ambitious characters attempted to gain the head of his guard and crowd on the first line—but in vain. He wheeled and charged in every direction to oppose their progress, whilst his bright sword divided the air, and lightning flashed from his eyes. His words, like his actions, denoted the fury of his soul. His enemies fled before him. Two only dared to tempt his rage. The first was the great Westcott, who sate in a sea-colored car, drawn by two fiery duns. He called to his charioteer to lash his impatient coursers. His high mind revolted at remaining so long behind. His faithful charioteer obeyed, and the pride of both mounted for a moment, like the dust they raised, as they flew along. "Stop—nor attempt to move beyond thy present station," pronounced with a voice of authority by one whose half-lifted sabre showed the charter on which he acted, met their astonished ears. The affrighted charioteer pulled his reins; and though the pale, quivering lip of his master showed the anguish of his soul, he fell back silent and confounded.

Not dismayed by his friend's defeat was the portly Ben (Roebuck*), whilst he reclined at length in a painted litter. He ordered his attendants, who at once carried and guarded him, to poise their sharp-pointed pikes (which were adorned with beautiful tassels), and advanced to the foremost ranks. They shouted, and rushed to the war. Their glittering arms and their numbers would have appalled the boldest heart; but they affected not our hero's. He singly charged the phalanx. They were dismayed. Their coward hearts sunk, and the weapons which they had wielded in their pride fell from their nerveless grasp. In vain did their lord encourage and reproach—in vain did he give bitter taunts to the foe. They bore him from the field of danger to a place of safety, grumbling like the shaggy tenant of Siberia's wild when his head is wounded by the arrow of the hunter. The defeat of these heroes deterred all others from a similar fate; and a motley throng, numerous as the stars, followed contented the troop of warriors.

*Mr. Roebuck was an alderman of the Mayor's Court, and father of the present member for Sheffield.

I have mounted and rode very hard, and am only arrived at the Nabob's outer gate. Perhaps I may take another spurt at the close; but at present, with your leave, Colonel, I will walk, which, indeed, most parties did, to the palace. We passed through a street of troops, who presented their arms to this wonderful letter as it was carried near them. When at the inner gate, the Nabob advanced to meet the Governor, who briefly explained the purport of his visit. We followed the great men into the *dewan-khana*, or hall of audience, in the centre of which was a small carpet with silken cushions, covered by a golden canopy, supported by painted pillars, and hung round with blue lustres. Under this his Highness led the Lord; and, whilst Generals, Counsellors, and other distinguished personages pressed near, Mr. Secretary Webbe read the honored letter in a clear and audible tone.

You, no doubt, recollect the *Vicar of Wakefield.* If you do, you are acquainted with most of this letter. The company begin, like Miss Wilhelmina Carolina Skeggs, expressing their sorrow at his Highness's father's death, and then they express their joy on his ascending the *Musnud;* and then they express their approval of the advice given, and the offers made of a modification of the treaty of '92 by Lord Hobart; and then they express their disappointment at the Nabob's refusing them. They have, they say, given the Lord orders to open another negotiation, and they beg the Nabob will listen to him. If he does, he will make them a happy Company, and essentially benefit himself. If he does not, it will be an unfavorable commencement of his reign, and may affect materially their future conduct towards him. In all these sentiments they declare that they are joined by his Majesty's Ministers—"given under our great seal at Leadenhall-street."

All was now over, and each sought his home. I had forgot to mention that there were two or three salutes and some volleys of musketry on the occasion. . . . .

A man who sits down to write a letter about nothing must waste ink, pens, and paper; and try the patience of his friends. 'Tis a true remark, and happily exemplified by

Yours sincerely,

J. MALCOLM.

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS SISTER AGNES.*

Madras, Oct. 16, 1797.

My dear Nancy,—I am tired of writing politics and nonsense—of forming ingenious premises, and drawing therefrom most wise conclusions. Such being my state, what is the remedy? Can there be a better than scrawling a Europe letter to a nice, light-hearted sister, whose eyes are keen enough to unravel my hieroglyphics, and whose heart is good enough to excuse my errors?—"None better." I will swallow the draught this moment, though it is near ten o'clock; and I am mistaken if I have not a good night's rest after it.

It is, my dear Nancy, one of those still clear nights, which your friend Mrs. Radcliffe would dwell on for many pages. I wish that admirable young woman were here. I would lead her a walk which would equal one of her journeys in the *Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Do you remember, when we were all young, sitting round the parlour fire at Burnfoot? You were reading the most dreadful of the castle-scenes. All was hushed attention. My father leant with his head gently resting on the cornice of the chimney-piece, while it also received additional support from the two forefingers of his right hand. Yes—I can never forget his position. At this moment, a light tread, like that of a human foot, was heard in the winding dark passage which leads from the kitchen to the parlour. It drew little attention. The sweet, mellow tone of your voice, the awfulness of the subject, were too attractive;—but it far exceeds the humble power of my pen to tell how we were roused from this delightful state.

A rumbling noise was heard at the door: all looked round in amaze. The pages you had perused were imprinted on our memory—the supernatural scenes they represented were present to our imagination. The parlour door burst open—ten thousand small black devils flew into the room: they were impelled in every direction by a fury in the shape of a woman. All was confusion: some shrieked; others tried to gain the windows. My father, after oversetting two chairs in attempting to retreat, ventured to look round. He saw what we then all began to discover

* Agnes Malcolm died at Irvine, April, 1836, aged 73.

—that our alarm was caused by the pretty Peggy M'Neill, whose foot had slipped at the parlour-door, which she wished to open to bring in a basket of coals to rekindle our almost extinct fire.

"This is the consequence, girls," said my father, pretty quickly —"this is the consequence of your novels and romances. The mind is destroyed: fancy takes complete possession; and you see what a piece of work she makes. Why, I was almost alarmed myself. It required all the firmness I possess to prevent mistaking Peggy M'Neill, that honest lass there, for Hecate, and the coals for her attendant devils.

"This is all you, Nancy," he continued; "you persuade your uncle to send you down all the trash from London, and then prevail on us to listen. Lay it aside—lay it aside; and get John to read us a few pages of 'Reid on the Intellectual Powers.' He has lately perused it, and will tell you what a noble work it is for confirming the judgment, and making the mind firm in her principles."

"Indeed" (you said), "father, but I'll do no such thing as leave off this nice book for any nonsense about Philosophy. As for John and his firm principles, his mind is wonderfully prepared by these fine books, to be sure. He showed more of his bodily than his intellectual powers when he almost killed me by jumping from the chair to the window, frightened at a basket of coals." After this sally, Nancy, you began again. The fire grew more bright. My father went away; but returned in a few minutes, and sate as attentive as the rest to hear the sequel of the *Mysteries of Udolpho.*

"But never mind the night and Mrs. Radcliffe, John. What are you about? Do you keep your health? Have you any fine Behauder* horses, as you used to call them? What do you do in the morning—and what in the evening? Have you any fine ladies at Madras? Do you ever write any odes?"—Patience, and I will answer these questions in regular order.

As to my health, it is as good as you could wish it. I have two fine prancing horses—fellows that beat the air and paw the ground. They are both grey. One of them was born at the source of the Indus, and the other within a few miles of Ispahan,

* Literally, a great lord; means here, *proud, prancing.*

in Persia. I could not wish a wife with a sweeter disposition than they both possess—nor one with more fire and spirit.

I pass my mornings in a way which I trust will make my evenings, some time hence, more comfortable.

My evenings at present do not pass unpleasantly—far from it. I have a most agreeable home; and if disposed to visit, which I seldom am, I meet a welcome in families both genteel and lively.

As to ladies—I don't know that we have any positively fine. But we have several good mothers, and some promising daughters; and what more would you wish?

When I have an idle hour and wish to keep my eyes open, I take up my Hafiz, fire my imagination, and if the fit lasts, I translate an ode. But I seldom get through it. If a stanza displeases me, or a rhyme won't come, I curse the idle amusement, tear all I have written, throw the pen out of the door, and begin reading Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

I, however, succeeded better yesterday. I finished an ode, which I now enclose. It appears of the wicked order; but this is appearance only—and so you may tell any old Presbyterian witch that finds fault with it. Its wickedness arises out of her ignorance. Hafiz was a holy writer. His compositions resemble the Song of Solomon. Where he mentions the Tavern, he means Paradise. The Cup-bearer is the angel Gabriel. His Mistress is the Almighty; and Wine is Divine Love, &c., &c., &c. This I have been assured of by the wisest men of the East.

When he died in his native town, Shiraz, all the inhabitants were not convinced of this. Several ignorant, plain men took the meaning as it was written; and declared its tendency was to promote luxury and dissipation, and that the author did not deserve to be interred in sacred ground. Others, confident of its latent purity, contended that he almost deserved divine honors for the services he had done to religion by his holy, though mystical, works. The parties were violent. One endeavoured to convey the corpse to the burial-ground—the other opposed; and bloodshed ensued. At last it was determined, by mutual consent, that his own book should finish the dispute. It was to be opened at random. The finger of a man blinded was to point to the couplet. If it was, on reading, found to be of a nature to encourage vice, the friends of the poet agreed to relinquish their object. If on the contrary,

his remains were to be quietly interred. The appeal is common in the East, and particularly made to the holy Koran by Princes before they undertake any affair of importance.

In the present instance, the scene was highly interesting. The fury of mistaken zealots was likely to debar from its last mournful rites the body of one whose name had given celebrity to their country. All was anxiety. The most learned of the Moulavees held the book, and was appointed to read the couplet which fate decreed to decide the important dispute. The Heaven-directed finger was placed on the two concluding lines of one of his most serious but most beautiful odes:

> Withdraw not your steps from the obsequies of Hafiz;
> Though he be immersed in sin he will rise into Paradise.

The shout of joy was general. Every one was convinced; and all Shiraz attended his funeral. A superb tomb was built over him; and it is to this day visited by the learned and the pious from all quarters of the globe.

I will write you a grave letter in January.

Your affectionate brother,

J. M.

But although at this time Malcolm led a careless and a happy life, it was not an idle one. He had, indeed, an irrepressible desire not only to accumulate information for himself, but also to impart it to others. Ever since he had first made the acquaintance of Sir John Kennaway,* he had longed to take an active part in the

* He continued to correspond with this gentleman, who had finally returned to England. The following extracts from his correspondence belong to this period, and are not without interest:—"I am in the same situation," wrote Malcolm, "as when I wrote you last—Persian interpreter and secretary to General Harris, who is kind and attentive to a degree. With General Clarke I keep up a constant correspondence, and have a pride in thinking I stand high in his esteem. I anxiously look for his succession to this Government, to which he has so long been posted. He makes no promises, and no one knows what he means to do till he has an opportunity of doing it. This I am convinced of, that he has an anxious wish to promote my interests, and will lose no opportunity of doing it."—[*August* 31, 1797.]

And again:—"All my hopes still point to being some day employed in the diplomatic line, which makes me extremely solicitous that my friends at home should lose no opportunity of

great game of diplomacy. He saw, indeed, that there were events then taking shape in the womb of Time, which would render it essential to the interests of the nation that the British-Indian Government should have at its disposal men thoroughly acquainted with the history and constitution of the Native States of India. And seeing this, he set himself resolutely to work, to acquire the desiderated information, by corresponding and conversing with the best-informed men in the country; and to supply the intelligence thus acquired, in the shape of Minutes and Memoirs, to the Government under which he served. The papers upon these important subjects, which he sent in to Lord Hobart, were graciously received. The Governor encouraged him to proceed in the good work of collecting and digesting intelligence; and Malcolm applied himself diligently to it, in the entire confidence that it would, at no very remote date, be found of eminent use in the advancement, not merely of his own interests, but of the welfare also of the State.

At this time Lord Hobart was about to retire from the Government of Madras; and it was believed that Sir Alured Clarke would succeed him. But Sir John Shore was also about to lay down the reins of office; so Sir Alured, as Senior Member of Council in Bengal, stood next for the Governor-Generalship, and in March, 1798, he entered upon its duties. Meanwhile, in the preceding month, Lord Hobart had taken his departure, and been

getting me mentioned to great men coming out either to Bengal or Madras. I can promise much arranged information; and the flattering notice of several papers I have given in has encouraged me to persevere in the pursuit. . . . . My health is as confirmed as you could wish it. I live moderately, and take a great deal of exercise. I have left off, with other idle habits, my poetical flights. I do, however, attempt an ode now and then, as you will see by the enclosed, which I translated two days ago to send to my sister. They insist on having nonsense of the kind sent to Burnfoot once or twice a year."—[*October* 16, 1797.]

succeeded, for the time, by General Harris, who was now at the head both of the civil and military affairs of the Coast. The change was beneficial to Malcolm, who was nominated Town-Major of Fort St. George—an office then of far greater honor and emolument than it is at the present time. But it had not the virtue of permanency. The appointment, indeed, was considered as a personal appendage to the Governor of the day, like any other part of the constitution of his "family." As Malcolm only stepped in during an interregnum, his incumbency was therefore more than usually uncertain and precarious.* He held the appointment until the autumn of the same year. Lord Clive, who had been appointed Governor of Madras, arrived at the end of August; and new arrangements were made for the Town-Majorship of the Fort.

To Malcolm this was a matter of but little moment. He had recommended himself ere this to the notice of one higher in office than the Governor of Madras. Lord Clive became in due course one of Malcolm's fastest friends—but no man esteemed his worth or appreciated his services more than did Lord Wellesley.

* Letter of John Malcolm to Lord Hobart — [*March* 25, 1798] — "Sir John Shore left Calcutta on the 8th inst. I fear Sir Alured's reign will be short, as I observe by intelligence which arrived this morning that Lord Mornington sailed on the 8th of November. As I do not find any person is named for Madras, I cherish hopes of being Town-Major a few months longer."

To General Ross, who had been Lord Cornwallis's secretary, he also wrote, soon afterwards — [*May* 15, 1798] — "I cannot lose a moment in thanking you for your attentive kindness in mentioning me to Lord Mornington. Had that nobleman been destined for Madras, your friendly recommendation would probably have caused my remaining in the lucrative situation of Town-Major, which I can hardly expect to be so fortunate as to keep under General Harris's successor; though, if my friends know I fill it before any Governor leaves England, they will naturally on such an occasion exert their interests, as I have made them aware of its consequence. If I remain one year, I shall have a little foundation on which I may erect a goodly castle."

CHAPTER V.

HYDERABAD AND MYSORE.

[1798—1799.]

ARRIVAL OF LORD WELLESLEY—THE HYDERABAD ASSISTANTSHIP—DISBANDMENT OF THE FRENCH CORPS—MALCOLM'S SHARE IN THE OPERATIONS—VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA—MEETING WITH LORD WELLESLEY—THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM—THE MYSORE COMMISSIONERSHIP—RETURN TO HYDERABAD.

On the 26th of April, 1798, Lord Wellesley* landed at Madras, on his way to the seat of the Supreme Government of India, over which he had been appointed to preside. He remained on the Coast until the second week of May; and then resumed his voyage to Calcutta.

During the brief sojourn of the new Governor-General at Madras, Captain Malcolm† ventured to forward to him, through his private secretary,‡ some of the papers which he had drawn up on the Native States of India, and to express at the same time a hope that, when opportunity offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his profession. In those days nearly all the "political" appointments in the country were held by military officers. The civil servants of the Company, though then beginning to shake off their old mercantile character, were

* It need hardly be said that he was then Lord Mornington; but for the sake of uniformity, I shall use throughout the name by which he is known in history.

† He was promoted in this year (1798).

‡ Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley.

seldom despatched to the Courts of the Native Princes. In such men as Kennaway, Scott, Collins, the two Kirkpatricks, and other soldiers, the Indian Governments found agents of rare energy and ability to conduct our relations with what in the language of the day was called the "Country Powers." It was not until some time after the dawn of the new century that the diplomatic skill of such men as Jenkins, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and Russell was called forth; and the civilians of the day successfully competed with the soldiers for the chief places at the "Residencies" planted in the different Native States.

It was to the Court of Hyderabad that Malcolm now turned his desiring eyes. He had, years before, acquired some experience of the affairs of the Nizam. He had seen much for himself; his early intimacy with Sir John Kennaway, and his subsequent correspondence with the Kirkpatricks, had enlarged his knowledge of the Deccan, and strengthened the interest with which he regarded all that related to its government and its people. That interest, however, was not of a very pleasurable kind. In truth, he despised the one and pitied the other. But the field of employment was a good one. A crisis of some sort or other was evidently approaching. And John Malcolm, whose nature it was ever to wish to be what is called "in the thick of it," thought that there could be no better opportunity of gratifying his eager desire after a stirring life than that afforded by a diplomatic appointment at the Court of Hyderabad. A vacancy had opportunely presented itself. Colonel Kirkpatrick, who had succeeded Sir John Kennaway, had joined the staff of the Governor-General, whom he had met at the Cape; and Captain Kirkpatrick, who had held a subordinate situation at the Nizam's Court, was now appointed Resident in his brother's stead. For the office of Assis-

'tant to the Resident thus vacated, Malcolm lost no time in applying. The papers which he had forwarded to Lord Wellesley had been graciously received. That statesman, whose quick discernment of merit was not the least remarkable of his many remarkable qualities, saw at a glance that the writer was a man to be employed. So he answered promptly to the application, in the following affirmatory letter:

LORD WELLESLEY TO CAPTAIN MALCOLM.

Fort William, Sept. 10, 1798.

SIR,—The office of Resident at Hyderabad having become vacant by the resignation of Colonel Kirkpatrick, I have this day appointed Captain Kirkpatrick to succeed him; and it afforded me great satisfaction at the same time to nominate you Assistant at that Court, having learnt from my brother that in a letter to him you had stated that such a situation would be acceptable to you.

In conferring this appointment upon you, I have been governed by no other motive than my knowledge of the zeal, activity, and diligence with which you have pursued the study of the native languages and the political system of India; and I take this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at your having made choice of a situation in which I am persuaded you will render essential service to the publick, and satisfy your honorable desire of distinction. I wish to see you previous to your proceeding to Hyderabad, and as soon as may be convenient for you after you have received this letter. There are many circumstances relative to the political system of India which it is proper you should learn from me as early as possible. It will also be advantageous to the publick service that you should thoroughly understand my opinions on various points, with a degree of accuracy which cannot be conveniently stated in writing. I therefore hope that you will contrive to visit Calcutta soon after the receipt of this letter. I shall by this day's post apprise Lord Clive of your appointment, in order that the necessary steps may be taken for procuring your leave of absence.

I am, yours, &c.,

MORNINGTON.

John Malcolm's foot was now fairly in the stirrup, and he felt that, God willing, there was nothing to keep him from riding straight to the top of the hill.

Had this letter reached him at Madras, he would have taken ship at once for Calcutta; but he had already started for Hyderabad before it was put into his hands.* There was work first to be done at the seat of his new appointment. Lord Wellesley was bracing himself up for the coming contest with the Sultan of Mysore. The approaching cold season was to see his armies in motion. In the mean while, certain arrangements were to be made to secure the effective co-operation of our allies. A new treaty was negotiated with the Nizam, and a few days before the date of the above letter Captain Kirkpatrick reported its conclusion. It was stipulated that four battalions of British troops should be added to the force posted in the Nizam's dominions, and that we should protect him against the unjust demands of his enemies.

* It appears from the following passage, upon which I have accidentally alighted in a letter from Captain Kirkpatrick to Mr. Edmonstone, that Malcolm did not receive Lord Wellesley's letter till he had nearly reached Hyderabad:—"I was in great hopes," writes Kirkpatrick, "that Captain Malcolm's arrival would effectually exonerate you in future from the troublesome task of occasional translations of the papers: but, alas! I have only enjoyed the benefit of his company to be more sensible of his loss. He received a letter, when within a march or two of Hyderabad, from Lord Mornington, directing him for certain assigned reasons to take a trip to Calcutta previous to proceeding hither; and so eager is Captain Malcolm's desire to obey his Lordship's summons, that I believe I must consent to his indulging it without further reference, however much against my own judgment, or however greatly at the expense both of my own convenience and yours."—[*October* 16, 1798.] The only copy of Malcolm's answer to Lord Wellesley's letter in my possession is one which Mr. John Pasley forwarded to the family at Burnfoot. It is dated the 10th of October, but does not indicate the place whence it was written. In this letter Malcolm says: "I was yesterday honored with a duplicate of your Lordship's letter, under date of the 20th ultimo;" the original letter being dated on the 10th. It would appear from this, that before the receipt of Lord Wellesley's letter Malcolm had received (probably from Mr. Henry Wellesley or Colonel Kirkpatrick) private intimation of his appointment to Hyderabad, and had started some time in September for the Nizam's capital. He was relieved of the Town-Majorship on the 28th of August (a week after Lord Clive's arrival), when Captain Alexander Grant was appointed, "vice Malcolm, resigned."

In return for this, his Highness pledged himself to pay an augmented subsidy for the support of the English troops, and to disband the French corps which he held in his pay.

Ever since the times of Dupleix and Bussy this corps had been growing in bulk and importance. In the early days of our contests with the French in Southern India, they had discerned the expediency of establishing an influence at the Court of Hyderabad. And they believed that this could be effected in no better manner than by the application of European skill and enterprise to the organisation and equipment of the rude and disorderly battalions which constituted the military force of the Nizam. The experiment halted at the outset. The beginning was small; the progress was not rapid. At the time of the preceding war with Tippoo there had been only two regiments, officered by Frenchmen, in the service of the Nizam. But now that we were about a second time to advance upon Seringapatam, we found that there were fourteen thousand men in the Hyderabad country, disciplined and commanded by European officers. The interval had been a period of trouble and danger to the Nizam. His old enemies, the Mahrattas, had invaded his dominions; his sons had risen up in revolt against him; and he had been fain to strengthen himself by resorting to the readiest means at his disposal for putting down both his foreign and his domestic foes. Under Raymond, a Frenchman of great ability and address, who had originally served under Lally, the two or three battalions which had been disciplined by European officers had rendered essential service to their harassed employer, who then saw in the augmentation of this force an element of safety, which at the time he could discern nowhere else. So the French force had increased both in numbers and efficiency. Assignments of territory had

been made for its payment. Foundries were established under competent European superintendence. Guns were cast. Muskets were manufactured. Admirably disciplined and equipped, Raymond's levies went out to battle with the colors of Revolutionary France floating above them, and the Cap of Liberty engraved on their buttons.

It was obvious to Lord Wellesley that this state of things, at a time when the French were intriguing with "Citizen Tippoo," was fraught with extreme inconvenience and embarrassment, if not with danger, to the British-Indian Government. So he at once resolved to make a bold stroke for the entire overthrow of the French power at Hyderabad. Circumstances favored the design. Raymond was dead.* The Nizam's Prime Minister† was friendly to British interests. The French were inefficiently represented at Court. It was not difficult, therefore, to persuade the Hyderabad Government that their real interest lay (as indeed it did) in accepting the protection of the British to the utter exclusion of all other European states. Kirkpatrick's negotiations were successful. The Nizam undertook, as the price of our protection, to disband the French corps, and to surrender its European officers into our hands.

There were already two battalions of British troops in the Deccan. Whilst the negotiations were going on at Hyderabad, four additional battalions, under Colonel Roberts, were pushed quietly forward from the side of Guntoor. It was felt that the operation was one of some difficulty and danger, augmented by that crookedness of policy which characterised all Native Courts, and none more than that of Hyderabad. The movement was a secret one. It is said, indeed, that it was not known even to the Madras Government.

* He died on the 25th or 26th of March, 1798.

† Aristo Jah, commonly known by his title of Azim-ool-Omrah.

Officially, perhaps, it was not; but to the practised eye of the Indian statesman there were signs—of which the gathering of troops in Guntoor was not the least—indicating that a blow was about to be struck in the direction of Hyderabad; and the dissolution of the French corps seemed to be the most probable object of the movement. The measure was one of the expediency of which Malcolm had for some time been thoroughly convinced. He had often descanted upon its advantages; but, admitting the risk and responsibility of so bold a stroke, he had doubted whether any new Governor-General would be found with nerve enough to incur them. In April he had written to Lord Hobart, immediately on the receipt of tidings of Raymond's death:

"This is the period, my Lord, when a Governor-General of energy might give the fatal blow to that alarming power which the French have gained in the Deccan. The Minister himself, alarmed by Sindhiah, and doubtful of his professed friends at Hyderabad, solicits our aid, and will allow us to dictate the terms. Aware of the arguments on both sides of this important question, I shall regret, more than I can express, if the opportunity of securing ourselves almost beyond the possibility of danger on this side of India is lost. But an effectual interference is a step of too much responsibility for a new Governor-General to take, unless he possesses uncommon nerve. He will hesitate, before he sees his road clearly, to adopt a measure of such consequence; and when his eyes are opened on all the solid advantages likely to accrue, the opportunity will be past."

And again, in August, he had written more in detail upon the same subject:

"I imagine the detachment collected in Guntoor may be eventually meant for the expulsion of this nest of democrats—an important service, which, if Lord Mornington effects, he will deserve well of his country. I am not of opinion that this would at any time be unattended with risk; but perhaps at this time less than

another, from the dissensions of the officers at the head of the party. But risk or not, the necessity of the attempt appears to me to be paramount. Whilst our connexion with the Nizam is liable, from that party and other prevailing interests, to be continually disturbed, we ever must be in a state of extreme insecurity on the Coast, as no military establishment which our revenues can afford will ever be sufficient to protect us from ruinous predatory incursions of Horse, and we never can, unless the Deccan is friendly, carry on a successful offensive war against the Sultan. The favorable disposition of Azim-ool-Omrah affords us an opportunity of forming an alliance with the Deccan beyond the power of intrigue to destroy; and good policy demands that those democrats should be removed from the confidence of our best ally before we venture on any other measure; and I sincerely hope that this is Lord Mornington's intention. If it is, he has done right in assembling our force to meet the Sultan, and preparations should be continued, lest he should be obliged to recede from a plan, to prevent the execution of which serious difficulties may be expected to obtrude. Armed at all points, he will probably succeed in whatever he attempts; were he not, the chances would be against him. For the inevitable necessity of this attempt, and for the dangers which attend it, we have to thank the late Governor-General, whose timid policy allowed this party to gain the height which they have reached without remonstrance, rather than incur the most remote risk of the peace being disturbed during his placid reign. If an interference of Providence had not deprived the French party at this moment of a leader equally calculated by prudence and resolution to accomplish his ends, we might soon have begun our comments on the effects of a moderate and conciliatory system."

It was with no common satisfaction, therefore, that, two months later, Malcolm found not only that this great masterstroke of policy was on the eve of accomplishment, but that he was himself approaching the gates of Hyderabad with credentials enabling him to take an active part in giving it effect. He was, indeed, full of hope for the future destinies of our Indian Empire. It was obvious now that the right man had been sent to India at the

right time. He had been longing for the advent of a Governor-General of vigor and determination, not weighed down by a sense of the responsibility of his position; and now he felt that under such a man as Lord Wellesley there was nothing he was not equal to accomplish.

And now Malcolm took his first great practical lesson in Oriental diplomacy. All that he had learnt before had been as a looker-on; as a student of Indian politics rather than a participator in them.* But now he was about to take part in the exciting realities of strenuous action. He could hardly have been initiated into his new profession under more favorable auguries. It was decreed that his public life should be a stirring one, and it could scarcely have had a more stirring beginning than that which was now before him. In the concurrence of circumstances which brought Malcolm, in so critical a conjuncture, to the gates of Hyderabad, and enabled him to become no insignificant actor in one of the most remarkable events of Indian history, we see the first link, as it were, in a long chain of providential dispensations, from the consideration of which it would appear as though it had been his especial mission to take part in, and in some measure to control, all the most troublous incidents of the quarter of a century over which ranged his diplomatic career. Wherever there was difficulty and disturbance, there, it will be seen as this narrative advances, was John Malcolm sure to be. He thought himself fortunate now to have arrived at Hyderabad just in time for the great *coup d'état* which was to

* Ever since his return to Madras he had been continually corresponding with friends, both in India and in England, on the public affairs of the former country. Among other correspondents were the Kirkpatricks, Thomas Munro, Lord Hobart, Sir John Kennaway, and General Ross. His communication with Hyderabad was frequent, and he was thoroughly versed in the politics of that Court.

shatter to pieces for ever the growing influence of the French in the Deccan.

But the difficulty and the hazard of the work before the British officers at Hyderabad were not to be concealed. Palpable at all times, they were now rendered more apparent by the crooked policy of the Nizam's Court. The Nizam had entered into a solemn engagement to disband the French regiments, and to give up their European officers to the representatives of the British Government. But no sooner had Colonel Roberts' force arrived than it became apparent that the terms of the treaty would be grudgingly, if at all, fulfilled. That the Nizam should have parted reluctantly with men who had rendered him good service in the hour of need, is not otherwise than natural and honorable. Viewed from the English side, the dissolution of the French corps was a masterpiece of policy. But the sympathies of our common humanity may yet be awakened in favor of the sufferers, when we contemplate the rending of all those ties which had bound the soldier and the officer together, and linked the united military body to the State. Doubtless, it was a necessity; but it was a cruel one. And when the hour of parting arrived, it was not strange that there should have been a plentiful growth of subterfuge and evasion to delay the fulfilment of a stipulation so painful and so humiliating both to the French party and the Hyderabad Court.

But over and above this natural and creditable reluctance, there was all that innate duplicity and evasiveness which is inseparable from the diplomacy of a Native Court. Seldom or never are the conditions of a treaty with an Oriental potentate fulfilled, except under strong compulsion. The Nizam's Ministers, on the arrival of Colonel Roberts' force, were eager to see it encamped in a position where it could be of little use in overawing

the French battalions. But the British Resident saw plainly enough that the success of his measures depended upon the promptitude with which our troops could be brought to operate upon their lines.* Had he been irresolute in this conjuncture, the whole force might have decamped, and carried their services to Tippoo, to be turned against us in the coming war.

A German officer, named Piron, had succeeded Raymond in the chief command of the force.† It was now reported at the Residency that he was in personal communication with the Ministers; that he had a stronger party than we had suspected at Court; and that dangerous intrigues were on foot, which were likely to defeat the peaceable ratification of the treaty, and render coercion necessary. There were divided councils in the Durbar. The interests of the Mahrattas, of Tippoo, of the French, had each their supporters among the chief

* Captain Kirkpatrick wrote to the Minister, saying: "The case is this: The groundwork of the treaty is the apprehension and delivery of the people you know, and the disbandment of their party in such manner that no trace of their present form shall remain. I will grant for a moment that the affair in hand will be brought to an easy conclusion, by the plan devised by the Minister; still it is as evident as the sun, that unless the detachment is properly stationed, the execution of such plan will be impracticable; for if the English troops should cross the river and encamp on this side, it is possible that the whole of the party you know, finding no obstruction, may leave their cannon behind, and by long marches go over to Tippoo Sultan and others, or that the officers and sergeants may escape alone, and thus the advantages expected from the labor and exertion of bringing an English force hither be entirely defeated. As the very soul, moreover, of the treaty was the due fulfilment of the articles respecting the French party, God forbid that any deviation therefrom should take place."

† He was a man, in all respects, vastly inferior to Raymond. Speaking of him in a letter to Lord Hobart, written in April, 1798, Malcolm says: "Raymond is succeeded by M. Piron, a rough, violent democrat; a man with more hostile dispositions to us than his predecessor, but less dangerous." In another letter (to General Ross) he speaks of Piron as "a rough democrat, a stranger to that temper and those conciliating manners by which his predecessor won his way to greatness." And in a later letter to Lord Hobart, whilst narrating how some Soubahdars who had deserted from our army had been apprehended in the French lines, he says: "Had Raymond lived, the taking up of these men would not have been an easy task. But Piron has no ability, and his authority is far from being generally acknowledged."

servants of the Nizam. Strong personal motives, too, were at work to thwart the efforts of the British Minister. Every pretext for evasion and delay was seized upon with avidity by the upholders of the French party. It was even reported that peace had been declared between the English and French; that the hostile designs of the former against Tippoo were at an end; and the territories ceded after the last war were to be restored to the Sultan. But Meer Allum,* who knew the English well, and who had consistently supported our cause, promptly silenced the report, saying, "If perchance the island of Great Britain should be swallowed up by the sea, then such a peace would be probable. Till that event takes place, it is impossible."

Eager as Kirkpatrick and Malcolm were to accomplish the dissolution of the French force without shedding a drop of blood, they felt that it must be done at all hazards, and they feared that the crooked policy of the Hyderabad Durbar would compel them to resort to violence. It was necessary, at all events, that the troops at the Resident's disposal should assume a threatening attitude, and be prepared at a moment's notice to fire on the French lines. There were two brigades, well equipped and ready for action—the components of the old subsidiary force under Colonel Hyndman, and the reinforcements which had just arrived under Colonel Roberts. The former were moved up to attack the rear of the French camp; the latter were ready to advance upon its front.† From such a disposition of our forces

* Meer Allum was at this time commander of the Nizam's Mogul troops, in which capacity he soon afterwards led the Hyderabad troops to Seringapatam. See note at the end of the chapter.

† Malcolm, in his journal of occurrences at Hydorabad, says: "It was concerted that Colonel Hyndman's corps should move early next morning to a position about 400 yards in the rear of M. Piron's camp, between which and him was the river; there being no ford for guns, those with Colonel Hyndman's corps were to play from the bank he was encamped upon, which

there was no escape. The French troops were now completely at our mercy.

It was on the 20th of October, 1798, that our battalions took up the position which thus fearfully threatened the total annihilation of the French corps. On the same morning a message was brought to the British Resident, declaring that it was the intention of the chief Minister immediately to fulfil the treaty by dismissing the French officers and breaking up the battalions. And at midnight two French officers waited upon Captain Kirkpatrick, at the instance of M. Piron, to inform him that they were one and all prepared to throw themselves on the protection of the British—"well knowing that, although general policy might dictate their removal from the Deccan, they would be individually considered as entitled to every justice and indulgence that could with propriety be extended to them." To this the British Resident returned a becoming answer. Duty and inclination alike prompted him to pledge himself to the generous treatment of these unfortunate men.

On the following morning the orders of the Nizam for the disbandment of the French corps were publicly proclaimed in the lines. The Durbar officers, to whom this duty was entrusted, reported that all was quiet. Soon after their return, the Resident received a letter from Piron, urging him to despatch some person on the part of the British Government to the French cantonments, with a view to the protection both of the public and private property within them. Accordingly, Malcolm, who had been for some time actively assisting the negotiations with the Durbar, writing, translating, discussing, was despatched to the French lines. Before he could

they could with excellent effect, on the principal magazine and storehouses of the French camp. Whilst these battalions attacked the rear of their centre and right, Colonel Roberts was to advance his whole corps and guns to attack the front of their centre and left."

reach them, the greater number of the regiments, clamoring for their arrears of pay,* had risen up in open mutiny and seized the persons of Piron and many of his officers.

When Malcolm reached the lines, the violence of the mutineers was at its height. In vain he endeavoured to make his way to the place where Piron was confined. In vain he remonstrated; in vain he endeavoured to persuade the men to suffer order to be restored to their ranks. They crowded tumultuously around him. They threatened to deal with him as they had dealt with their own officers. And doubtless, in the violence of their excitement, they would have fulfilled their threats; but timely assistance was at hand. Among the crowd of mutineers were some men who had formerly belonged to Malcolm's company in the 29th battalion, but had deserted to the French corps. They now recognised their old officer, and went at once to his assistance. He had been kind to them in former days, and they had not forgotten his kindness. Lifting him up and bearing him away on their heads, they rescued him from the hands of the infuriated mob.

Malcolm returned to the Residency; and the mutiny continued to spread. It was an event to be welcomed; not to be deplored. It was plain to the British diplomatists that it would render the dissolution of the corps comparatively easy. So measures were at once concerted for the accomplishment of the disarming and dispersion of the disorganised mass. Early on the following day, Colonel Roberts was instructed to draw up his detachment opposite the French lines, and to summon the men to an unconditional surrender. If at the end of half an hour they had not complied with the demand, he was to attack them in front, and as soon as Colonel Hyndman

* Malcolm says that they were only twenty-one days in arrear; and hints that the mutiny was excited by the "artifices of the native officers."

heard a shot fired, he was to open upon their rear. A party of 1500 horse was placed under Malcolm, who was ordered to occupy their right flank and prevent escape in that direction, whilst Captain Greene, with another party of 500 horse, occupied the left.

Some time before Roberts' force came up Malcolm had reached his ground. The first French Sepoys whom he met—a small party of deserters—fearing an immediate attack upon their camp, were in an extreme state of alarm. He exerted himself to allay their fears. He told them that, if they fulfilled the required conditions, no violence would be offered to them, and despatched them into the lines to give assurance of protection to their comrades. A deputation of Soubahdars came out to him, and declared that they were ready to do anything that they were ordered. On this he advanced into the lines. He found the whole body of Sepoys panic-struck, as were those whom he had first met. They had released their officers, and were now disciplined and subdued by an overwhelming sense of their common danger. Malcolm assured them, that if they laid down their arms in peace, they would be protected by the British troops. They promised, therefore, prompt submission. The only condition which they urged upon the British officer was, that the lines should be placed in the possession of the Company's troops, and not given up to the destructive plunder of the Mogul horse.

Having reported to Colonel Roberts the favorable aspect of affairs, Malcolm drew up his detachment on the heights fronting the French lines. There he was speedily joined by the European officers of the French corps, elate with joy at their escape from the hands of their infuriate soldiery, and actually, in the conjuncture that had arisen, regarding the English as friends and deliverers. The rest

was soon accomplished. The Sepoys left their guns, laid down their arms, and in the presence of the two lines of British troops, moved off in a deep column to a flag planted on the right of their ground, followed by their wives, and carrying their little property with them.* Not a shot was fired; not a drop of blood was shed. Eleven or twelve thousand men† were thus dispersed in a few hours; and before sunset their whole cantonment, with all their storehouses, arsenals, gun-foundries, and powder-mills, were completely in our possession.‡ The celebrated French corps of Hyderabad had passed into a tradition.

That the dispersion of the French corps was a very important stroke of policy, and that it tended materially to secure our subsequent successes, is not to be denied.§ Malcolm shared with Kirkpatrick the credit

* In a private letter to Mr. Edmonstone, written on the 23rd of October, Captain Kirkpatrick says: "You will, no doubt, be well pleased at the successful and peaceable termination to which I have been so fortunate as to bring the affairs of the French party. Though I never entertained a moment's doubt that resistance upon its part would have been vain against such a body of British troops as were at my disposal, yet surely it is highly satisfactory, in every point of view, to have accomplished our end so completely without a drop of blood being spilled. It was at once a glorious and a piteous sight to see between eleven and twelve thousand of these French Sepoys laying down their arms in heaps in presence of our line of troops, drawn up in a most awing position, and moving off in crowds, attended by their wives and chattels. Only three days ago matters wore a very dismal appearance."

† Some others, who were absent from Hyderabad at this time, subsequently surrendered.

‡ Malcolm says in his memorandum of these occurrences: "Their storerooms were filled with arms, accoutrements, and clothing from Europe of excellent quality, and they could with ease from them have armed 12,000 more men in a few months. It was obviously their policy to make themselves independent in all essential military equipments, and they had succeeded to admiration. They cast excellent cannon, and made serviceable muskets in their different foundries, all of which, as well as their powder-mills, were under the direction of able and scientific Europeans."

§ Lord Clive, writing from Madras to the Secret Committee, said: "Upon my arrival here, at the end of August last, I entertained the most serious apprehension of the Sultan's invading the Carnatic. . . . . But the fortune of the Company prevented, and possibly the complete success of annihilating the French party and increasing the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, planned with so much wisdom by the Governor-General, and executed with so much ability by Colonel Roberts, under the direction of the Resident, Captain Kirkpatrick, confounded the

of the achievement. But the experience which he had gained was of more worth to him than the honor. In the course of the fortnight which he had spent, by accident, as it were, at Hyderabad, he had seen more of busy, stirring public life—more of the strife and turmoil of Oriental politics—than many men see in the course of years. The lesson that he learnt was never forgotten. That little reliance is to be placed on the word of an Indian diplomatist, that no Native Court is willing to fulfil the conditions of a treaty except under strong compulsion, Malcolm may have known before. But the great practical truth which he carried with him from Hyderabad, to be much pondered by the way, was, that the most vigorous policy is, at the same time, the most humane—that there is nothing so merciful, where strong measures are to be carried out, as an overawing display of force at the outset. Had Kirkpatrick wanted resolution—had he hesitated, and faltered, and shown himself to be a man of a weak-nerved humanity, slow to resort to extremities, in all probability before the end of October the French lines would have been running crimson with blood. There is an ill odour about the *word* "dragooning," but there is more real kindness in the *thing* itself than is readily to be believed.

Obedient to the summons of the Governor-General,

Sultan, and deterred him from bringing upon the Carnatic so severe a calamity." Colonel Beatson, in his account of the war with Tippoo, says that "no one suspected so grand and so masterly a stroke as the total annihilation of the French faction." "It is easier, therefore," he adds, "to imagine than to describe the joy and satisfaction which the intelligence of this important event excited when it reached Calcutta and Madras. Unbounded praises were bestowed on the bold and judicious policy which dictated the measure; and the ability which directed it in all its stages was viewed with sentiments of admiration and respect. In its consequences to the British interests in India, it was considered at this juncture an achievement of the very first importance. The dangers which it effectually removed, it must be confessed, were of the most urgent kind, since the very existence of so formidable a French faction in the heart of the Deccan would have rendered a contest with Tippoo extremely precarious, and even hazardous."

Malcolm hastened to Bengal, and was soon admitted into the Councils of Government House. He carried with him the colors of the annihilated French corps. He had much to tell of what he had seen within the last few memorable weeks. His local knowledge and experience were serviceable to the State. His cheerfulness seemed to exhilarate, and his energy to invigorate, all with whom he came in contact. In the full flush of early manhood, with a noble presence and a fine open countenance, full of animation and intelligence; quick in his movements, vivacious in discourse, glowing with the fire of enterprise, eager for action, he was just the man to encourage the faint, to stimulate the apathetic, to breathe confidence into all. He was just the man, too, whom Lord Wellesley wanted. Their principles were identical; their views accorded wonderfully; they had abundant faith in each other. It was not that Malcolm modulated his opinions in harmony with the Governor-General's. He had formed them, indeed, long before Lord Wellesley arrived, and had longed for a Governor-General with sufficient vigor to become their practical exponent. The "coming man," for whom he had looked so eagerly, was already realising his *beau idéal* of an Indian statesman. His admiration was genuine; his affection was sincere; for the new Governor-General was, as he said, a man after his own heart, and he felt that it was a glorious thing to be permitted to share his glory.

He soon became very popular in the Government House circle. Apart from the estimation in which he was held as a public servant, his private qualities were such as to secure the affectionate admiration of all who could read the kindliness of his heart and appreciate the manliness of his character. He had lost little of his old playfulness. Edmonstone, who was still Persian translator, but was fast becoming the very right hand of Lord

Wellesley, was not sorry to recognise the same "Boy Malcolm" who had gambolled with him of old in the Deccan.* The elder Kirkpatrick was rejoiced to welcome him. Henry Wellesley, who had advanced some way towards intimacy with Malcolm during the fortnight spent by the vice-regal party on the Coast, was glad of an opportunity of ripening the growing friendship between them. The talk at Government House now was of the intended voyage to Madras, whither the Governor-General was going, to direct the operations of the war against Tippoo Sultan.

That the bearing of the Governor-General towards the ruler of Mysore would be worthy of the great nation which he represented, Malcolm never for a moment doubted. He was full of hope—confident as to the result—when he embarked, in the early winter of 1798-99, on board one of the vessels which was to carry the Governor-General and his suite to the Southern Coast.†

Negotiations were tried. But it was not expected that they would succeed. Tippoo, at least, was a man of courage. He did not shrink from the encounter. He knew that our preparations were advancing; but he trusted in his own resources, and believed that he was equal to the emergency.

The British army, under General Harris, took the field. The Nizam was to aid us with an auxiliary force.

* Captain Kirkpatrick, to whom Malcolm's absence from Hyderabad was a severe loss, wrote to Edmonstone, saying, "You will, I dare say, be very happy in shaking again by the hand your old Hyderabad acquaintance, Captain Malcolm, who can never be forgotten by any who have once had the pleasure of knowing him."

† "I was happy," wrote Malcolm to Lord Hobart, "to find his Lordship fully determined to act in the most spirited manner towards the Sultan, of whose hostile intrigues with the French he had then the most ample proof. His Lordship, however, proceeded with moderation. He proposed to send an ambassador to explain the causes of dissatisfaction, and to renew the treaties of friendship subsisting between the Sultan and the allies. This advance, though twice rejected, was again earnestly repeated by Lord Mornington, after his arrival at Madras in the beginning of January."

Malcolm was, therefore, despatched from Madras to expedite the advance of our allies. The subsidiary force, under Roberts and Hyndman, which had awed the French party into submission, was pushed forward, with a large body of the Nizam's troops under Meer Allum, to the Mysore frontier. On the 19th of January Malcolm joined the force. The duties which devolved upon him were of an arduous and responsible character. It was his to communicate continually with the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief; to supply them with full and detailed information respecting the components, the organisation, the discipline, and the temper of the Nizam's troops; to hurry on their march; to control their excesses; to communicate with the chiefs of the country through which they passed; to obtain supplies for the army; to direct the councils of Meer Allum; and, finally, to restrain the soldiery from breaking out into open mutiny.

This last was no easy task. Among the infantry battalions of our allies were a large number of the men of the old French corps. Malcolm found them in a state of disorder, for which it appeared to him that the only permanent remedy was the appointment of European officers to the command of the different battalions. But the men were wrought upon by their native leaders, and declared that, if such a measure of interference were carried out, they would march back to Hyderabad with all their guns, arms, and munitions. Here then was a danger to be encountered which might well have perplexed an older and more experienced soldier. The alarming intelligence was brought to Malcolm at midnight. Before daybreak he waited upon Meer Allum, and urged upon him, in the strongest terms, the necessity of peremptorily ordering the guns and magazines to be sent forward under the protection of one regiment, and to direct the

others to march onward in the usual manner. The orders were sent; but the regiments hesitated. So the Nizam's cavalry were drawn up on the flank of the infantry line, whilst Colonel Roberts's corps, which had overawed the French battalions at Hyderabad, took up a position which could have reduced the recusants, had it been necessary to proceed to extremities. Still there was procrastination. Some of the native leaders were eager to delay the settlement of the dispute till the evening. So Malcolm conceived that the time had come for the abandonment of all delicacy and reserve, and for a direct personal interference, such as, he said, under less pressing circumstances, he might not have been warranted in exercising. He offered his services to Meer Allum; said that he was ready to carry the Minister's orders into immediate execution; and, on receiving a full consent to the proposal, mounted his horse and rode into the lines of the mutinous battalions.

His determined bearing had the desired effect. He ordered the Sepoys to fall in; and they obeyed. He directed one regiment to move forward with the guns and the stores, and the others to march in the order determined; and his commands were not resisted. The men, indeed, responded to the word with a ready acquiescence, which showed that they had been misled by some of the chiefs in the Nizam's camp. The success of his English friend delighted Meer Allum, who at once importuned Malcolm to take command of the entire infantry force. Other European officers were appointed under him; and, thus brought back to a becoming state of discipline and order, the service which the regiments rendered contributed greatly to the success of the campaign.*

* "With a view of rendering them as efficient as possible, and of deriving the utmost advantage from their services, they were arranged into battalions commanded by British officers, and the whole placed under the com-

In Meer Allum, who appeared rather in the character of an ambassador than of a military commander, Malcolm found one whose heart was in the cause; and whose energies were put forth, honestly and manfully, to promote it.*

To this confederate force—consisting as it did entirely of native troops—it was considered expedient to attach an European regiment. The corps selected for this service was his Majesty's 33rd, which had been stationed at Vellore. It was in excellent condition. Its perfect discipline and soldierly appearance had attracted the attention and elicited the commendation of General Harris, who had recognised in the commanding officer all the qualities essential to secure the efficiency of the troops under his charge, and the confidence of the authorities above him. It happened that about this time Colonel Roberts had expressed a desire to be relieved from his command; so the lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd Regiment was appointed to lead the Nizam's detachment in his stead.

The appointment was one especially calculated to give satisfaction to our allies—to flatter their pride, and increase their confidence. For the great name and high connexions of the new commanding officer were second to none in India. His name was Arthur Wellesley. Few may have suspected then that he was destined to become the foremost man of the age; but all knew that he was the brother of the Governor-General. It was this circumstance which rendered the appointment so acceptable to Meer Allum, and so flattering to the Nizam,

mand of Captain John Malcolm, whose zeal and ability, added to a perfect knowledge of their language and customs, rendered him peculiarly qualified for this situation. To Captain Malcolm's command were attached two troops of native cavalry, clothed, accoutred, and disciplined in the same manner as the Company's regiments."—[*Beatson's War with Tippoo.*]

* "I found in Meer Allum," said Malcolm, "the commander, a man whose heart and soul were in the cause; and the advance of this force was so rapid, that it was obliged to halt some days for the advance of the Grand Army."

that History may well afford to sink the question of military seniority which it involved. It caused some heart-burnings, and created some discussion at the time,* as did a later appointment. But with these I have nothing to do. The appointment, however, of Colonel Wellesley to the chief command of the Nizam's force is a noticeable incident in the life of John Malcolm. It brought the two men for the first time into contact; taught them to understand and appreciate each other; and laid the foundation of a friendship which lasted throughout their lives.

The allies marched upon the capital of Mysore. The result belongs rather to general History than to such a Memoir as this. "On the 4th of May," wrote Malcolm to Lord Hobart, "all our labors were crowned with the completest victory that ever graced the British annals in India. A state that had been the rival of the Company's Government for nearly thirty years was on that day wholly annihilated." Seringapatam was taken, and Tippoo Sultan was slain.

Two characteristic anecdotes of Malcolm relating to this period are extant. On the morning of the final assault on Seringapatam, he entered General Harris's tent in high spirits, and with his accustomed hilarity of manner addressed the Commander-in-Chief as "Lord Harris." The General gravely answered that it was too serious an occasion for a jest. Malcolm had been in General Harris's family, and greatly esteemed him; but there was another General then in India to whom he owed everything that he could owe to the patronage of a superior; and after the capture of Seringapatam and the

* The question is considered at length in the *Life of Sir David Baird*, by Theodore Hook, who tells us that at the head of the force "Meer Allum, *the Nizam's son*, was nominally placed, but the whole body of troops was, in fact, under the command of Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General."

death of Tippoo, he purchased the Sultan's sword, which had become prize-property—assured by the inscription on it of its authenticity—and presented it to Sir Alured Clarke. The trophy was one which Harris might well have coveted; but he appreciated Malcolm's feelings, and approved of the gift. The circumstance was remembered, some twenty years afterwards, on a nearly similar occasion, and recorded to the honor of the captor of Seringapatam.

In a General Order issued to the troops on the breaking up of the Grand Army, the Commander-in-Chief acknowledged, in befitting terms, the services rendered by the Nizam's force; and subsequently, in a letter to the Governor-General, called the especial attention of Lord Wellesley to the zeal and activity—the combined energy and judgment—which had characterised the successful exertions of Captain Malcolm to give the utmost effect to the alliance:

"The body of his Highness the Nizam's Contingent Force being about to separate from the army," wrote General Harris, on the 9th of June, "I have the honor to enclose to your Lordship a copy of an order I thought it proper on this occasion to issue to the troops under my command.

"Captain Malcolm, Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad, through whom my communications with Meer Allum, Behaudur, were necessarily conducted, has at all times during the campaign, in which he took a very conspicuous part, made the requisite arrangements for the co-operation of the Contingent in a manner which reflects the highest honor on his abilities, and which strongly marks his zeal in the public cause. His peculiar talent for conciliating the Sirdars of the allied force, and directing their exertions to objects of general utility in a manner foreign to their habits of service—his activity in applying the unconnected power of resource possessed by the Contingent in aid of the general wants of the army—and the important assistance which he gave with the corps of his Highness the Nizam's regular infantry under his immediate orders, in occupying posts for the security, and covering

parties for the supply, of the army during the siege of Seringapatam, are points of valuable service which it is incumbent on me to point out, as entitling Captain Malcolm to the particular notice of his Lordship in Council."

To Malcolm, however, the close of the war had not brought a cessation of labor. "This morning," he wrote to Lord Hobart, on the 30th of May, from Seringapatam, "Lord Mornington's appointment of a Commission to settle finally the Mysore Government, and to make the partition-treaty, arrived. The Commission consists of General Harris, Lord M.'s brothers (the Colonel and Mr. Wellesley), Colonels Kirkpatrick and Close. I am the first secretary; Captain Thomas Munro the second. We begin the great work to-morrow; and I trust we shall finish it well. Our powers are very ample; and there are few obstacles against every plan we propose being carried into immediate execution." He had previously been appointed, with Colonels Wellesley and Agnew, Commissioner for the general conduct of those numerous extra-military duties which such a conquest necessarily involved; and now the special business entrusted to him was well understood, and rapidly and efficiently performed. The Commission addressed itself to its work with an energy and activity little surprising when it is considered of whom it was composed; and in the course of a month the settlement of Mysore was accomplished, in a manner which Friendship might commend without offence to the Justice of History.*

* Colonel Beatson, who wrote the History of the Mysore War, was one of Lord Wellesley's aides-de-camp. But he does not exaggerate when he says: "It is but justice to the gentlemen who composed the Commission for the affairs of Mysore (which the Governor-General dissolved after the subsidiary treaty was concluded), to remark that the conclusion, within one month, of two treaties, so extensive in their consequences and complicated in their details, together with all the subordinate arrangements connected with this important settlement, appears to be an extraordinary effort of diligence and

Of the political results of the conquest of Mysore, either as they affected the Hyderabad or our own Government, more need not be said than is contained in the following extracts from a very long letter written by Malcolm to General Ross, on the 10th of August, 1799, from Madras:

"The venal and weak Court of Hyderabad presents the usual picture. They entered warmly into the war from a conviction of our power being equal to the reduction of the Sultan's. They anticipated more crores and more provinces. These hopes originally formed increased in an exact ratio with our success; and on the fall of the capital of the Sultan their expectations appear to have exceeded all bounds. This occasioned not a little ill-humor at the moderate settlement made by Lord Mornington, who had been previously vested with full powers to act for the Nizam. This ill-humor was at first vented in language not altogether respectful. A spirited conduct soon brought them to their recollection, and they are at present all penitence for their offences, and thankful for what they have gained. This Court is now busy in adjusting its political disputes with that of Poonah, with whom they would gladly involve us. But, finding that impossible, they will, I trust, have no hesitation in agreeing to a just and equitable settlement. Our connexion with this Court will have much the same course as those we have formed with other Mahomedan powers in Hindostan. The inconceivable weakness and shameful corruption of the Government would soon bring it to a dissolution if unsupported by our aid, and our own safety will lay us under the necessity of interfering in every change in a manner that will soon make the Court literally dependent—a situation from which they are at present only one stage removed."

ability, more especially when it is considered that reference was necessarily made to the Governor-General at Fort St. George through every stage of their transactions. The whole arrangement seems to have been conducted by the Commissioners with a spirit of humanity and liberality, which does equal honor to their feelings and to their judgment, and which cannot fail to conciliate the good-will of the inhabitants of Mysore."

CHAPTER VI.

ACROSS THE PENINSULA.

[1799—1800.]

MALCOLM'S APPOINTMENT TO THE PERSIAN MISSION—ITS OBJECTS—RUMORED INVASION OF ZEMAUN SHAH—LOCAL ATTACHMENTS—MALCOLM'S JOURNEY TO HYDERABAD—BUSINESS THERE—INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL—RETURN TO BOMBAY.

THE politics of the great Indian Peninsula were now about to give place in the mind of John Malcolm to others which involved still more important interests and embraced a still more extensive theatre of action. The business of the Mysore Commission was scarcely completed when he received from Lord Wellesley the cheering and exciting announcement that his Lordship intended to despatch him as ambassador to the Court of Persia, whither no accredited envoy from the British Government had proceeded since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, more than two centuries agone.

The objects of this mission were threefold:

"Lord Mornington," wrote Captain Malcolm to General Ross, on the 10th of August, 1799, "has done me the honor to appoint me Envoy to the Court of Persia. The objects of this mission are various and important, and if I am sufficiently fortunate as to succeed in the accomplishment of any one of them, it will be

attended with more reputation than I could hope to obtain in this quarter. To relieve India from the annual alarm of Zemaun Shah's invasion, which is always attended with serious expense to the Company, by occasioning a diversion upon his Persian provinces; to counteract the possible attempts of those villanous but active democrats the French; to restore to some part of its former prosperity a trade which has been in a great degree lost, are the leading objects of my journey. And, if report does justice to the character of the reigning Prince, Baba Khan, much may be effected. Gratitude for the high distinction I have met with will ensure my most arduous exertions in this task."*

The invasion of Zemaun Shah, the weak and ambitious ruler of the country now known as Afghanistan, was at that time an old bugbear. Year after year had the Douranee monarch threatened a descent upon Hindostan; but his expeditions, which rose in blustering pomp, had ever set in ludicrous failure. The danger was great in our eyes; but only because it was remote and shadowy. We knew nothing of Zemaun Shah. We knew nothing of the Afghans. We knew nothing of the policy of those distant Mahomedan princes, with whom it is a stale trick of kingcraft to talk most loudly about foreign conquest when they are most sensible of domestic weakness—to allay disorders at home by the counter-irritation of excitement abroad. We knew only that from the fabulous regions beyond the Indus, whence the desolating legions

* In another letter, Malcolm thus speaks of the actual historical circumstances, which were causing so much uneasiness at the time: "To begin with the northern hero, Zemaun Shah, he was necessitated to retreat, to prevent the threatened attack of Mahomed Khan, Khujjur, on the province of Herat. Since that we have received accounts that Mahomed Khan has fallen under the blow of an assassin. If this prove true, it will leave the Candahar Prince much at liberty to execute his favorite projects; and I observe by accounts from Delhi, which merit dependence, that an officer charged with letters to the Emperor, the Vizier, the Governor-General, the Mahratta chiefs, and principal Rajahs, is on his way to Hindostan. He writes to Sahib Singh, Rajah of Putteealah, that it is the positive intention of his master to march to Delhi after the monsoon. The unsettled state of his hereditary dominions will, I think, yet prevent this invasion."

of Mahmoud the Ghuznivide and Nadir Shah had streamed down upon Hindostan, we were now threatened with an incursion of Toorkhs and Tartars, Ghiljyes and Ooshegs, and hordes of other barbarous fighting men, of whom we did not even know the names.

But although thus scanty was our actual knowledge of the history, the geography, and the resources of the Douranee Empire, we had a deeper insight into the character and conduct of the Mahomedan princes of India, and we knew that by some of them the advent of Zemaun Shah was looked for with feverish expectancy as the coming of a deliverer, who was to rescue the followers of the Prophet alike from the yoke of the Feringhees and the Mahrattas. Even the Rajpoot princes of Upper India, dreading the lawless exactions of the latter, were willing to forget all differences of creed, and to unite for the restoration of Mahomedan supremacy. It was a wild, but a cherished dream. The tide of conquest, which for centuries had poured in from those rugged northern regions, had been arrested for ever.

The death of Tippoo Sultan and the captivity of Vizier Ali, the deposed Prince of Oude, had before the close of the last century greatly weakened this combination. But they had made clear to us the depths of intrigue, which before we had only obscurely fathomed; and the former circumstance had fully revealed to us the extent to which revolutionary France had hoped to convert the enmity of our Mahomedan neighbours into the instrument of our overthrow. We knew that the agents of the Directory had been fomenting the hatred and stimulating the hopes of the princes of India. And we believed that they were no less active in their endeavours to feed the ambition and excite the cupidity of the Northern potentates, who had never ceased from their

desire to enrich themselves by the spoliation of Hindostan. In those days we lived, and not without reason, in continual horror of the French. We believed that God had smitten them, hip and thigh, with a moral leprosy; that there was no atrocity, however appalling, which they were not capable of committing; and that it would be only righteousness on our parts to place them beyond the pale of humanity, and to hunt them like wild beasts. There was nothing strange or intolerant in this. The excesses of the French Revolution were things not to be tolerated, in cold blood, by lookers-on at a distance, who knew little or nothing of the causes which had conduced to them. No such tales of terror—no such chronicles of crime—had ever reached the English in India from any part of the world. Even the tremendous tragedy of the Black Hole sunk into insignificance viewed beside the wholesale butcheries done under the shadow of the Cap of Liberty in the heyday of the Age of Reason. That the French were held in extreme detestation in India is not to be denied. Lord Wellesley set the fashion of anti-Gallicanism, and it was followed with becoming loyalty by well-nigh all his countrymen in the East. If there were any exceptions to the rule, John Malcolm was not one of them.

I do not doubt, indeed, that the thought of checkmating France in Central Asia gave additional zest to the feelings of pleasurable excitement with which he contemplated his mission to Persia. There was a mighty game then being played in the world; and to a man of Malcolm's eager temperament it was great joy to be summoned to take part in it. It was not so much that he was an ambitious man, as that he had an unappeasable desire after action. He delighted in action for its own sake. He delighted to think that he was rendering good service to his country. And his thoughts often

recurred with affectionate pride to the feelings which the tidings of his success would excite in the beloved circle at Burnfoot. To the old home in Eskdale—to the sisters who sent him minute tidings of the family-party—to the old man, of whom they spake yet among them, and to the mother who had nurtured him—whatever might be the whirl of politics or the strife of warfare, his heart, untravelled, was ever fondly turning. Of how little value was success, if he could not share its fruits with them. Ah! this good home-feeling! It has been strongest in the greatest of our Indian exiles. In Clive, how strong! In Hastings, how strong! In Munro and in Metcalfe, how strong! But in none, perhaps, was the strength of this local attachment more remarkable than in John Malcolm.*

From Seringapatam Malcolm had returned to Madras; and thence, the official tidings of his appointment having reached him, he began at once to take steps to possess himself of that local information which he believed to be essential to the success of his mission. So he addressed the following letter to the Governor of Bombay—an old and respectable member of the Company's Civil Service, who had risen to this high post after a long life of service, distinguished rather by integrity and

* To only three, perhaps, out of the five worthies whom I have named, is the term "local attachment" strictly applicable. Clive's desire after home, in his younger days, was more a general hankering after England than any very strong personal or local attachment; Metcalfe, who was bred a Cockney, though he sometimes spoke of returning to the family mansion in Portland-place which he well knew, and to the family estate at Fern Hill which he did not know, was moved rather by his love of persons than his love of places. To Warren Hastings the desire to return to Daylesford was a strong and abiding passion. The affections of Munro, which turned fondly to his "father busy with his tulip-beds," and his "mother with her myrtle-pots," clung also to the scenes of his youth, to the bridge on which he used to stand, and the stream which he looked down upon; and Malcolm, from the earliest days of his military boyhood up to the time when he sate as Governor of Bombay, never ceased to long after what he called another "*paddle in the Burn.*"

benevolence, than by the possession of any brilliant talents, or the performance of any splendid acts:

CAPTAIN MALCOLM TO THE HON. JONATHAN DUNCAN.

Madras, Aug. 23, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am now at liberty to acquaint you that Lord Mornington has named me Envoy to the Court of Persia—a distinction which I hope to merit by zealous exertions.

I am fully aware how very dependent I shall be on your kind friendship and support; and can only promise to be solely guided by your advice. I expect every aid from the able native whom you have employed, and trust my mission will prove beneficial to his interests.

I leave Madras in eight or ten days, and mean to proceed by Hyderabad and Poonah to Bombay, where I hope circumstances will admit of my remaining a few days, as I shall have much to learn and to provide.

I would esteem it a most particular favor if you would desire such parts of the correspondence of Mr. Manesty, Mr. Jones, Mehedi Ali Khan,* and others, relating to Persia, as you conceive would be useful to me, to be extracted for my perusal. I feel how much I shall stand in need of every aid to do justice to the Governor-General's flattering nomination.

My brother, of the *Suffolk*, who tells me he has the honor of your acquaintance, desires his respectful compliments.

Believe me, with respect,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

This was the first step towards the fulfilment of his new duties. But, before he could turn his back upon India, he had more work to do at Hyderabad. He had many complicated accounts connected with his old appointment to settle; he had the prize-money of the

* Mr. Manesty was the Company's Agent at Bushire; Mr. (afterwards Sir Harford) Jones at Baghdad; and Mehedi Ali Khan was a Persian, long employed in the Company's service, whom Mr. Duncan had despatched to Persia with letters to the King; and of whose achievements there mention will be made in the following chapter.

Nizam's force to distribute; and other business to adjust, which required his reappearance at the Nizam's Court. So he started from Madras in the middle of September, intending to proceed across the peninsula, by Hyderabad and Poonah, to Bombay. He had many grave affairs of state, relating to the past and relating to the future, to ponder as he went; but it is characteristic of that unfailing solicitude for the welfare of all the native servants of the Government, which rendered his name so dear to the people, that, on his way to Hyderabad, he made time to write the following excellent letter to Mr. Webbe, the Chief Secretary at Madras:

Dilihipolly, Oct. 3, 1799.

My dear Webbe,—I am this day favored with your letter of the 25th ultimo. I am sorry for the impediment respecting Bal Kistna, and lest it should continue to operate, I send you a letter, which you may substitute, if it meets your approbation, in the place of that I formerly gave in. My chief regret arises from my having communicated with the old commandant on the subject, and raised hopes which must now end in disappointment.

In recommending palanquin-allowance I was strictly governed by the principle you state, as that which should be followed on such occasions. I considered a respectable native officer, of nearly seventy years of age, fifty of which had been passed in the Company's service, volunteering not only to exert all his influence, which was considerable, but his personal exertions to forward the public service at a critical period, and undergoing severe fatigue to accomplish the important object he undertook, as highly deserving of *honorable distinction.*

You know my opinion on the subject of extending the notice of Government to our native troops on all proper occasions. I have ever looked upon it as an object of political importance to take every just opportunity of enlivening their hopes and stimulating their ambition. Such acts admirably excite exertion in all military bodies; but they are, I am sorry to say, more indispensable in our native army on the coast than in any other in the world. For the system on which it is at present arranged is of

that cold, confined, and depressive nature that it cannot, in my opinion, fail, if not radically amended, of some day bringing a misfortune on the State.

While we are extending our conquests and increasing our armies, is it not of the highest moment to consider on what we are chiefly dependent for retaining the vast power we have acquired? Is it not obviously on the discipline and fidelity of our native army? While that remains unshaken there is evidently little to fear. Yet, in this army, consisting of nearly 30,000 men, exclusive of the native cavalry (on whom we are acknowledged to be so dependent), there is not one man (admittedly by the present system) to rise to any rank or distinction, or to enjoy beyond thirteen pagodas a month! Those who think that this extraordinary fact is not a subject of daily comment among our native troops, or that it has not been long undermining and weakening that essential branch of the establishment, are, I fear, mistaken. If it had not been in some degree counteracted by that admirable institution of boys* which was established in 1780, its baneful effects would long before this have been evident. A soldier's pay should be sufficient for him to live comfortably upon. If not equal to that, it should be raised to that standard—but never beyond. Whatever is necessary for encouragement should be given to the higher ranks, and in reward of extraordinary merit; and the latter instances, which should be rare and select, should be on a scale correspondent with the dignity of Government.

The expense of all this would be moderate in the extreme when the object was considered. The credit of the service would rise. The whole would be reanimated. A proper high military spirit would be diffused throughout; and all those Mahomedan families who are now either resorting to the service of the Nabob and tributary Rajahs, or emigrating from the country, would cheerfully enter a service of the solid advantages of which they are well aware, but which is, in its present system, defective, as it

* The allusion here is to the system, peculiar to the Coast Army, of drilling and instructing the sons of Sepoys, with a view to their subsequent enlistment. They thus became attached to a regiment and to its officers from their very childhood; loyalty became habitual to them; and they generally made excellent soldiers.

wants those attractive distinctions by which the military tribes in India are alone to be won.

Impressed strongly with these sentiments, I will avow that I have urged, in frequent instances, a departure from common rules, unable to effect the radical cure I wished to institute. You may judge of the extent to which I have gone by the following cases, which, I allow, I earnestly recommended to Government:

1st. When with General Clarke, that the families of men absent on foreign services should, on their relations dying, draw in some cases three, in others two, months of the amount of their family chits;* to prevent that distress which was found to be the consequence of an abrupt stoppage of payment.

2nd. When with General Harris, that one Soubahdar and one Jemadar, formerly of Captain Walker's Light Infantry, who were both covered with wounds, and who had clearly lost the benefit of the invalid list from inability to attend a committee, which sate in 1786 (which they proved), should be pensioned on half-pay.

3rd. That the family of Shumshire Beg, of the Native Cavalry, who volunteered in the forty-first year of his service for the Manilla expedition, on which he died, should be allowed his full pay for fifteen years, till his sons, who were infants, should be fit for the service.

4th. That Kadir Beg and Sheikh Tippoo should, for their gallant services, be distinguished by Government.

5th. That Bal Kistna, a commandant of fifty years' service, who had left his home at the age of seventy, and marched nearly three hundred miles to collect Brinjarries† at a period which gave importance to the exertions of every individual, should be distinguished for the few remaining years he had to live by being granted Palanquin-allowance.

Such is, as far as I can call to mind, a catalogue of my sins on this score. The total of the temporary expense which Government have incurred by these acts cannot exceed 200 pagodas‡ per month. Let a minute inquiry be made into the effects pro-

* A family chit is a letter, or voucher, enabling the family of a Sepoy to receive a portion of his pay.

† The native grain-carriers, from whom in a great measure the supplies of our armies were drawn—a curious race of men, of whom Malcolm had many a good story to tell, drawn from the experiences of his younger days.

‡ About 70*l.* sterling.

duced on the Native Army, and then let the person who suggested them be charged with extravagance.

But I have already said more than sufficient. I will make amends for giving your patience this trial by writing you of whatever appears interesting at Hyderabad or Poonah.

Yours ever very sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Of this journey across the Peninsula, Captain Malcolm, at the request of Lady Clive, wrote a long narrative and descriptive account for the perusal of that amiable lady. A few passages, detailing the most noticeable incidents of travel which he recorded in these journal-letters, may be given here; but the journey was not an eventful one:

"Two stages before we reached Hyderabad," he wrote, "our camp was honored by a visit from a Hindoo Rajah. This youth (for he was not above twenty) was a tributary of the Nizam. . . . He came bounding along upon a fine grey mare richly caparisoned, and took care, before he alighted, to satisfy us of his mare's activity and his own skill in horsemanship. When he walked into the tent he was followed by several of his officers. But an old Brahmin, who evidently performed the part of what the Mahomedans in these parts call an *Ahelsaz*, or sense-maker (in other words, tutor), kept always close to him, and would hardly allow him either to ask or to answer a question. . . . . The conversation, after some inquiries respecting our journey, and how we liked the country, took a turn quite congenial to the feelings of our guests. We spoke of the ancient renown of the Hindoos, of the wisdom of the Brahmins, of the high courage and noble sentiments of the Kehteree, or military tribe of that people. We were complimented on the kindness and consideration with which the English Government had treated the Hindoos, and the recent restoration of the Rajah of Mysore to the kingdom of his forefathers was brought forward as an example of our partiality to that race. I could not forbear, on this being mentioned, recounting to our friends an anecdote of Purneah, the present Minister of Mysore. In the letter which was written to him the day after Seringapatam fell, summoning him to the British head-

quarters, he was desired not to be alarmed, and to rely upon the favor of the English Government. In his answer he declared his readiness to obey, and concluded by saying, 'Can I feel any hesitation in submitting to a nation which protects my tribe from Cassee to Ramiseram.'* Nothing, it was admitted by all, could more decidedly have shown the character of Purneah than this speech. . . . .

"As we were rising to go away a curious incident occurred. The Rajah and his Minister conversed with us in Hindostance; but the former, when he wished to say anything in private, spoke in Talinga, the dialect of his province. As he was leaving the tent, he said in that language, 'One gentleman sate on my right, another on my left. I am quite at a loss to discover which is the principal person of these two.' 'There is no principal person in the tent but the chief who has honored us with this visit,' was my reply in Talinga. On hearing me speak that language, his first impulse was to hasten to his horse; but his tutor interfered, and appeared not a little entertained. I told him that if he understood the Mahratta language, he might speak it with a certainty of not being understood, as I did not know a word of it. 'I will not trust you,' was his reply. 'You Europeans are a strange people. You learn everything.' So saying, he mounted his mare again and rode off as he came, making the animal bound, wheel, and charge in every direction."

On the 11th of October, Malcolm reached Hyderabad, and was soon immersed in the detail-work which had brought him to the Nizam's capital. "I am as desirous of getting forward as possible," he wrote on the 20th to Colonel Kirkpatrick, who had written, at the request of Lord Wellesley, to urge his departure with all practicable despatch for the Persian Gulf; "but when you consider that my late situation not only occasioned my

* "Cassee," Malcolm adds, "I need hardly tell you, is the classical name for Benares, and as that holy city stands near the extreme east front of our empire, and Ramiseram, which is esteemed equally holy, is nearly the most western, he included in this truly Hindoo metaphor the whole range of the English territories in India." Half a century has passed, and we now write "from Peshawur to Pegu."

having accounts to settle with your brother to the amount of six or seven lakhs of rupees, but with this Circar for double the sum, and with three thousand men for their prize money and clothing, you will allow, that if I leave Hyderabad in twelve days after having satisfied all parties, and with a clear reputation, I shall have made my escape from the complicated concerns in which I have been engaged in as speedy and happy a manner as could have been expected."

By the end of the month he had completed all this complicated business; and on the 1st of November he quitted Hyderabad. He had obtained a clearer insight into the character of the Nizam's Court, and left the capital with an increased contempt for that imbecile and luxurious Prince. In one of the long, descriptive letters which he wrote to Lady Clive at this time, there is a characteristic anecdote of his Highness too good to be omitted:

"I will conclude this letter," wrote Malcolm, "by relating an anecdote connected with this projected edifice (the Residency at Hyderabad) that will satisfy you the Princes of the East do not lose much of their valuable time in the study of geography. Major Kirkpatrick, the Resident at this Court, wished to obtain a grant of two or three fields to erect this structure upon. He requested the engineer of the English force stationed at Hyderabad to make an exact survey of the spot, and when this was finished upon a large sheet he carried it to the Durbar, and, showing it to the Nizam, requested he would give the English Government a grant of the ground. The Prince, after gravely examining the survey, said he was sorry he could not comply with the request. When the Resident was retiring, not a little disconcerted at the refusal of a favor which he deemed so trifling, Meer Allum (the Minister) said to him with a smile, 'Do not be annoyed. You frightened the Nizam with the size of the plan you showed him. Your fields were almost as large as any of the maps of his kingdom he had yet seen. No wonder,' said the Meer, laughing, 'he did

not like to make such a cession. Make a survey upon a reduced scale, and the difficulty will vanish.' The Resident could hardly believe this would be the case. But when, at his next interview, he presented the same plan upon a small card, the ready and cheerful assent of the Prince satisfied him that the Meer had been quite correct in his guess at the cause of his former failure."

After an uneventful march of eighteen days' duration, Malcolm reached Poonah—the capital of the Mahratta territory, where the Peishwah held his Court. His sojourn there was necessarily brief. Before the end of November he was making his way to Bombay, across a country the natural beauty of which he sighed for the faculty of enjoying. It has recently been observed of another distinguished Indian statesman, one of Malcolm's friends and cotemporaries, that he was not alive to the charms of inanimate nature. Malcolm admitted and deplored this defect in his own constitution, and wondered whether he had become too much habituated to the sight of beautiful scenery to appreciate its attractions.* But although Metcalfe and Malcolm were men of widely different characters, and widely different lives, it is probable that the deficiency in both resulted from the same causes. Their minds were too much occupied with the contemplation of humanity, in its varied aspects, to have room for the appreciative study of the works of inanimate nature. The love of beautiful scenery is nurtured by solitude and inaction. The hum of men drowns the murmur of the falling waters, and the rust-

* "You may conceive," he wrote to Lady Clive, "this scene was something remarkable, from the effort which I have made to describe it; for I am not (as you will have observed) a very enthusiastic admirer of the beauties of inanimate nature. I have, indeed, often regretted that I had not a more keen and discriminating sense of this pleasure, as my wandering life would have given me a full opportunity of gratifying it. But perhaps it is the very power (opportunity) I have possessed of enjoying this source of delight which has diminished my sense of its value."

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ling leaves; the surging multitude shuts out the sight of the green fields and the sparkling river. Malcolm, indeed, was hardly right when he said that he had led a "wandering life," which had afforded him constant opportunities of gratifying a love of beautiful scenery; for he had not led a wandering life. He was continually moving about from one part of the country to another; but, except in very early youth, he always went from point to point full of the object before him. Men who travel thus with occupied minds do not wander; but the beauties of external nature are commonly a blank to them.

But to Malcolm, wherever there were men, there were objects of interest and curiosity. If he did not find "tongues in the running streams," and "sermons in stones," he found in every man a teacher. From the poorest laborer in the country, with only a rag round his middle, he felt that there was something to be learnt. On the line of march, during the mid-day halt, or on the rapid day-and-night palanquin-journey, he found unfailing opportunities of adding to his stores of information. He would fall into conversation with the little parties of travellers whom he came up with on the road, or the groups of idle natives whom he found as he entered the villages sitting on the grass, smoking their pipes, and perhaps discussing the last depredational raid of some band of Pindarrees; or he would throw open the doors of the palanquin and question the bearers or torchmen who ran by his side about the country through which he was passing. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that no man who ever went out to India in the service of the Company conversed so much with the natives of India, or saw so much of the lights and shadows of Indian life.

The incidents of travel which helped to fill his budget

of experience were often of a strange and suggestive character. At this time, on his road from Poonah to Bombay, he was presented with a remarkable illustration of that wild justice which flourished in the Native States of India at the close of the last century.

"From Compoully," wrote John Malcolm to Lady Clive, "I marched to Panwell, a distance of twenty-four miles. When I had proceeded two or three miles I came up with a small guard of armed men belonging to the Poonah Government, who were carrying a young man, with his hands bound, along the road. I asked them who the prisoner was, and where they were going. The commander of the guard said that they were going about a mile further, to a spot where a robbery and murder had recently been committed. 'And when there,' he added, 'I shall cut this man's head off.' 'Is he the murderer?' I asked: 'No,' said the man, 'nor does he, I believe, know anything about it. But he belongs to the country of the Siddee' (pointing to a province in the vicinity which is still held by the descendants of the former admirals of the Mogul Emperor), 'from which the murderers, we well know, came; and we have orders, whenever an occurrence of this nature happens, to proceed into that country and to seize and put to death the first male, who has arrived at years of maturity, that we meet. This youth,' he concluded, 'was taken yesterday, and must suffer to-day.' On my expressing my astonishment and horror at a proceeding in which the innocent was doomed to suffer for the guilty, he said that that was not his business; he only obeyed orders. 'But,' he continued, 'I believe it is a very good plan. First, because it was adopted by Nanah Furnavese, who was a wise man; and secondly, because I am old enough to recollect when no year ever passed without twenty or thirty murders and robberies on this road; and all by gangs from the Siddee's country. Now they are quite rare; not above four or five within these twelve or fifteen years, which is the period this custom has been established.' As we were conversing we reached the spot fixed for the execution. The guards halted and began to smoke their *hubble-bubbles*, or pipes. The prisoner's hands were untied, and he took a pipe along with them, with much apparent unconcern. Indeed, his whole conduct marked

indifference to his fate. After he had smoked, his hands were tied behind his back as before; he was taken a few yards from the road, and desired to kneel. The executioner, who stood beside him, grasping a straight two-edged sword with both hands, called out to him, 'Bend your head.' The man did as desired, and by a most dexterous blow it was severed from his body. The trunk sprung upright, and fell backwards. A rope was then tied round the heels of the dead body, and it was hung up, on a low tree, for the terror of others. After this was done, the guard sate down, smoked another hubble-bubble, and then returned to the ghaut."

A few more marches brought Malcolm to Bombay, where he began at once to make his arrangements for his voyage to the Persian Gulf and his embassy to the Court of the Shah-i-Shah.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSIAN EMBASSY.

[1800—1801.]

ARRIVAL AT MUSCAT—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMAUM—DELAYS AT BUSHIRE —PRESENTS AND CEREMONIES—RECEPTION AT SHIRAZ—HALT AT ISPAHAN— JOURNEY TO TEHERAN—INTERVIEWS WITH THE KING—NEGOTIATION OF THE TREATIES—THEIR CHARACTER—APPROVAL OF GOVERNMENT—RETURN TO INDIA.

On the 29th of December, 1799, Captain John Malcolm embarked at Bombay on board a Company's frigate called after that port,* and sailed for the Persian Gulf. The gentlemen of his "Family" who accompanied him were Captain William Campbell, First Assistant; Lieutenant Charles Pasley and Mr. Richard Strachey, Assistants; Lieutenant John Colebrooke, commanding the escort; Mr. Gilbert Briggs, Surgeon; and Mr. William Hollingberry, Writer. The brig *Harrington*, with the greater part of the escort, the servants and the baggage, sailed in company with the *Bombay*.

On the 8th of January, 1800, the latter vessel entered the cove of Muscat.† The Imaum of that place, who had previously yielded to the intrigues both of Tippoo

* The *Bombay* was commanded by Captain John Selby.

† Muscat, after many revolutions, was then, with other parts of the country and islands of the Gulf, under an Arab ruler, known as Syud Sultan. The independence of the province (Omaun) had been established by his grandfather, who had recovered (Malcolm says usurped) it from the Persians. Syud Sultan, whom Malcolm always eulogised, was afterwards killed in battle.

and the French, had requested that an English physician might be posted there in place of a French doctor who had recently been dismissed; and Mr. Duncan had sent thither with Malcolm's party an assistant-surgeon named Bogle. There are two side-gates in the East to the great Park of English Diplomacy. The one is Commerce. The other is Medicine. We owe, indeed, our Indian Empire to them. Mr. Bogle was to enter Araby as a physician, and to remain there as a political agent. On the arrival of the *Bombay* at Muscat the Imaum himself was absent somewhere in the Gulf—it was said, upon "a military expedition." But, after some visits from the Company's native broker, who assured him that the feeling of the authorities there was setting in very strongly towards the English,* Malcolm received the local Governor on board his frigate. On the following day he went on shore and returned the visit. The Governor (Syfe Ben Mohamed) was a man of intelligence and experience, who knew the English and their Government well; he had made thirty-six voyages, of which sixteen had been to Bombay, and one to Calcutta; and he had sense enough to estimate the magnitude of our resources, and the advantages, both political and commercial, to Muscat of an alliance with so powerful a state. However strong these impressions in our favor may have been, Malcolm took care to strengthen them. With that volubility and comprehensiveness of discourse which was then beginning to develop itself, and which became not one of the least remarkable characteristics of the man, he now proposed,

* This man assured Malcolm that "a little more than a twelvemonth ago the French had stood much higher in the Imaum's favor than the English—a circumstance to be accounted for by the paying him more attention, and sending him presents of cannon, &c.; but that they had lately captured one of his vessels, and he had since that period been very violent against them, and as strong in his expressions of partiality for the English."

before opening his immediate business, "to take a short view of some recent events, which were not less calculated to show the principles on which the British Government acted, than to bring to the observation of the governor and his fellow-councillors the real interests of their own state."

He told them how the English had been for some years at war with the French, "as a nation, who had by their late conduct, both as it respected their internal government and their neighbours, made themselves an object of horror and detestation to the whole civilised world." He told them how we had beaten the French in the East; how we had deprived them of all their possessions there except the Mauritius—"an unproductive island, and no object of conquest;" and how the Dutch had lost almost everything in Asia, except Batavia, where they were shut up by their apprehensions of the English cruisers. Then he told them how Tippoo, the great Sultan of Mysore, whom we had spared when prostrate at our feet seven years before, had, misguided and deluded by the French, broken his faith with us; how, although a Mahomedan Prince, warring against us declaredly in defence of Mahomedanism, he had rejoiced at the temporary success of the French, when "that lawless nation, in defiance of all treaties, seized upon Egypt, and making themselves masters of the avenues to the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, would doubtless have retained possession of them, had not God favored the exertions of the British arms in that quarter." "By His mercy," added Malcolm, "the French have sustained such signal defeats, that the miserable remnants of their army are now anxious only for a safe retreat from Egypt." Then he spoke of the great victories we had achieved in Mysore; told how the intrigues of the French and the aggressive designs of the Sultan had

been baffled by the wisdom of our statesmen and the courage of our troops; how the reduction of Tippoo's power had placed us in possession of the whole coast of Malabar, and how, with the exception of the islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and Amboyna, there was not a port, from Surat to Calcutta, in which a vessel could anchor without the consent of the English. What then, he asked, was to become of the famed commerce of Muscat,* if the harbours of the whole Indian Peninsula were to be closed against the merchant ships of Muscat by the fiat of the paramount power?

To such a question no answer could be returned, except an avowal of the fact that the prosperity of Muscat was dependent upon the favor of the English. The Governor was willing, indeed, to acknowledge everything that was said, and to accede to anything that was proposed;† but although Malcolm produced the agreement into which he desired to enter for the location of a British agent at Muscat, and gave a copy of it to Ben Mahomed, he declared that it was only to the Imaum himself he could deliver the Governor-General's letter, and only with him that he could ratify the compact. So he took ship again and set off in pursuit of the Imaum, whom he had expected to find at Ormus. But when he reached that island, he found that the Prince, after reducing the neighbouring island of Kishm, had sailed for Jalfa, on the Arabian side of the Gulf. Malcolm, however, once on the track, was not likely to give up the pursuit; so, after exploring on foot

* I have an old print of Muscat, from a drawing taken two centuries ago, now before me—among the descriptive references to which, at the foot of the picture, is "the kay all covered with merchantes' goods." Malcolm ("Sketches of Persia") describes "the busy beach covered with packages."

† Taking his tone of discourse from the English Ambassador, he told Malcolm that he had ever thought there was little benefit to be derived from intercourse with the French, who were "an infamous and faithless people."

a great part of the "once celebrated island," and collecting all the information that could be gathered, re-embarked on board the *Bombay*.

On the 16th of January, being becalmed, they anchored near the island of Kishm, and there they learned from the crew of a native boat that the Imaum's flagship was anchored between that place and Anjam. On the 18th the British vessel was alongside of her; and Malcolm was received on her quarter-deck, with becoming courtesy, by the Imaum himself. He was a man of a mild and prepossessing countenance; of polite but simple manners. As the English gentleman and the Arab chief sate there side by side on the deck of the *Gunjava*, there was no need on the part of either for diplomacy or finesse. Malcolm displayed his letters, which were immediately read, and then produced the presents he had brought.* After some conversation on general topics, they retired to the sleeping cabin of the Imaum, where Malcolm entered at once on the objects of his mission. The same facts which had been stated, and the same arguments which had been used, at the interview with the Governor of Muscat, were put forth with greater emphasis than before. Then Malcolm spoke of the regret with which the Governor-General had perceived the recent disposition of the Imaum to league himself with the French, and expressed a hope that he was now convinced that it was his true policy to enter into and observe such covenants with the English Government as would tend not only to the political security, but to the commercial prosperity, of the country under

* They are thus entered in Malcolm's journal: "An elegant watch set with diamonds — a silver ornamented clock—a gold enamelled creese (dagger) — a double-barrelled gun — a pair of pistols—a spying-glass." To the sons of the chief, boys of ten and eight, small presents were also made— "to one the model of a 50-gun ship, and a curious hunting-knife; to the other, a tortoise-shell case, containing instruments and a hunting-knife." The elder, who succeeded his father as Imaum, preserved the model, and remembered Malcolm's kindness all his life.

his rule. And to this end he proposed to establish at Muscat an English gentleman of respectability as the agent of the East India Company.

Malcolm paused, and the Imaum asked if he had anything else to request. Receiving an answer in the negative, the Arab placed his hand upon his head, then on his breast, and said that he consented to the proposal from his head and his heart; that he was willing to sign and seal the agreement at once, and would be equally willing if it stipulated the establishment of a thousand English gentlemen instead of one at Muscat. The agreement was produced, and he at once affixed his seal to it, declaring that he desired nothing more than to cement an alliance with the English Government, to the utter exclusion of all their enemies. "And I believed him to be sincere," said Malcolm, "because he was a man of sufficient penetration to understand his own interests."

Having accomplished this preliminary negotiation, which secured to us the friendship, and, if required, the co-operation, of the principal state on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf,* Malcolm steered his course for Bushire. On the 1st of February he entered that port, and landed under a salute from the fort. We had a factory and an accredited agent there, and Malcolm's anticipated approach had for some time been a common topic of conversation in the bazaars. All the principal

* Reflecting on the great local advantages possessed by this state of Omaun, as contrasted with its visible decay, Malcolm wrote in his journal: "It could only, perhaps, have fallen by the influence of a religion adverse to all improvement and general diffusion of science; a religion which, however high it might carry its votaries whilst they acted under the rage of proselytism, left them, when the fever was past, debilitated and shackled by the chains of Bigotry, Superstition, and Prejudice. What but Barbarism could be the result of such a doctrine? Such, after a short career of glory, was the fate of every country that embraced the religion of Mahomed; and in Arabia, where the faith was most universal, the effects have been the most dreadful."

merchants of the place now flocked out to welcome the English "Elchee." The Governor of Bushire, Sheikh Nusser, with a keen eye to the coming presents, was profuse in his expressions of respect for the English in general, and the new Ambassador in particular. And a day or two afterwards he received his quota of the wonderful supply of jewelled watches, double-barrelled guns, achromatic telescopes, huntsmen's knives, and colored broad-cloths, with which Malcolm had sagaciously provided himself.

Having despatched letters to the Persian monarch and his Prime Minister at Teheran, and to the Prince-Regent at Shiraz, setting forth the objects of his mission, Malcolm pitched his camp a little way on the road to the latter place. It soon became apparent to him that the two great necessities of diplomacy in Persia were the giving of presents and the stickling for forms. To the former he could have no great objection. It is no unpleasant duty to place a number of pretty and useful things before the covetous eyes of man or woman, either in the East or the West, and to salute their greedy ears with the ever-welcome cry of "*Corban*." By Malcolm, who was always eager to go forward with his work, whatever it might be, this present-giving was regarded with especial favor, for it lubricated the road before him. Moreover, it was as much a principle, as it was a pleasure, with him to achieve success whenever he could, by "keeping every one in good humor." A Persian with an enamelled watch to carry home to the wondering inmates of his Zenana, or a brace of fine new pistols to stick in his saddle when next he rides out a-hunting, is sure to be well pleased. But this, after all, is only the personal view of the question of present-giving. There was a larger national view in which Malcolm regarded it. Financially, it appeared to him that if his largesses

shortened, as he doubted not that they would, the duration of his mission, his liberality would in the end be a gain to the British Government. And politically, it seemed to him to be a point of the first importance to impress the Persians everywhere with an idea of the wonderful power and the immense resources of our English civilisation. It was not merely an appeal to the cupidity of the Persians. It was an appeal also to their reason. There was wonderful suggestiveness in this display not only of the wealth, but of the art and science of Great Britain, which could not be lost upon so astute a people.* It was believed that a great end was to be gained by the success of the mission, and that the means should be calculated in no niggardly spirit.

But the stickling for forms was more repellent to a man of Malcolm's temperament than the present-giving. He knew enough of Oriental Courts to recognise its necessity; but it was not less distasteful for the recognition. Eager as he was to advance with the work before him, it was vexatious in the extreme to be delayed by disputes about ceremonial observances†—the style of a letter or the arrangement of an interview. He was personally a man of simple habits and unostentatious demeanor. Left to his own impulses, he would as readily have negotiated a treaty in his shirt-sleeves, and signed it with a billiard-cue under his arm, as arrayed in purple and gold under a salute of artillery, and with a guard of honor at his back. But, as the representative of a great nation, he was bound to uphold its dignity to the utmost. He was now among a people out of measure addicted to

* And over and above these general reasons, there was an especial one, for the liberality of Malcolm's embassy, to which I shall presently refer.

† "The consequence," wrote Malcolm in his journal, "attached to these points of form in Persia exceeds belief; and from the tenacity shown by the representatives of a country on such subjects, they chiefly form their opinion of the greatness and consequence of the power from which he is deputed."

pomp and ceremony, with whom statesmanship was mainly a matter of fine writing; who stickled about forms of address as though the destinies of empires were dependent upon the color of a compliment or the height of a chair; and who measured the grandeur of other nations with their own chamberlain's wand. Any concessions upon his part—any failure to insist upon the strict observance of what was due to him in his ambassadorial character—would have been construed, not only to his own disadvantage, but to that of the nation which he represented. So Malcolm resolved to do in Fars as is done in Fars, and to stickle as manfully for forms as any Hadjee in the country.

But he was detained by this necessity much longer at Bushire than was consistent with his inclinations. The first ceremonial difficulty presented itself to him on the 4th of March, when an answer came to the letter which he had sent to the Prince Royal at Shiraz. It was written in the style of a firman or mandate, such as is addressed by a ruler to his subjects, and commenced with the word "Hookum." Upon reading it, Malcolm desired that it might be returned, in a respectful manner, with an intimation that he could not, consistently with the dignity of his station, receive such a letter, and transmit it to the Governor-General. The communication should have been a *Moorasellah*, such as a King addresses to his Wuzeer. After an interval of three weeks, a letter of explanation came from the Vice-regal Court at Shiraz, setting forth the principle by which it had been governed, and defending its proceedings not without some logical acumen. But Malcolm declared that the case had been entirely misunderstood, and that he could not accept such an explanation.* The sub-

* The young Prince's Ministers contended that as the Governor-General was only the Wuzeer of the King of England, Malcolm's rank, as his dele-

sequent communications to him were of a most conciliatory and flattering character; but the Ministers still protested that, without the express sanction of the King, they could not depart from the established usage of the country. There was an excellent show of argument on both sides. But neither party was converted or convinced by the logic of the other.

While Malcolm was still waiting at Bushire the result of this dispute, Mehedi Ali Khan arrived on the 3rd of May from Bussorah. This man, to whom incidental allusion has already been made, had been despatched by Mr. Duncan to the Persian Court, to endeavour to stimulate the King to make a diversion in our favor, by attacking the provinces of Zemaun Shah, and thus withdrawing the troops with which the latter threatened the invasion of Hindostan. This introductory measure had perplexed Malcolm in many ways. But not the least of his perplexities had risen out of a strange story relating to the antecedents of his predecessor, which had been told to him at Hyderabad by an old Mussulman of good repute, whom he had at one time contemplated taking with him to the Persian Court. The story was, that Mehedi Ali Khan* had many years before been pub-

gate, must necessarily be below that of Wuzeer; and that Kings and Viceroys wrote Moorasellahs only to Wuzeers. Malcolm declared that the Governor-General was not a Wuzeer, but a Viceroy, and entitled to correspond, on an equality, with the King of Persia—that as Tippoo Sultan had so corresponded with the Shah, and as the Governor-General was ruler over a larger country than Tippoo ever governed, it necessarily followed that he was entitled at least to the same privileges as the Sultan.

* This circumstance Malcolm related to Colonel Kirkpatrick, in a letter written from Hyderabad, when on his way down to Bombay. "Old Bauker," he wrote, "asked if this was the same Mehedi Ali Khan that was employed under Mr. Duncan at Ghazeepore. On my answering in the affirmative, he told me that he was a man of the most infamous character, and that he had been notoriously disgraced about eighteen years ago by Azim-ool-Omrah in Hyderabad. The reason of this disgrace the Khan related as follows: 'Azim-ool-Omrah (he said) had given a thousand rupees to a Syud, whose house was near that of Mehedi Ali Khan, who with three other Moguls attacked the Syud in the middle of the night, and were prevented from putting him

licly disgraced at Hyderabad for robbing a *Syud* in his house in the middle of the night, and threatening to murder the holy man if he did not disgorge his treasures. Whether the story were true or not, as it was little likely to be known in Persia, it could not have greatly affected his efficiency as an envoy. His recent proceedings in that country were far more likely to embarrass Malcolm, who now, therefore, inquired into them with considerable anxiety. But, whatever may have been Mehedi Ali Khan's antecedents, he seems to have displayed in Persia no little diplomatic tact; and, according to his own account, some forbearance. He told Malcolm that he had scrupulously abstained from committing the Company's Government to his proceedings; that he had appeared, whenever he could, in a private character; and had especially informed the chief Ministers of the Court of Persia that the English were not at all afraid of Zemaun Shah. On the contrary, he said, they wished him to "come on," that they might show how easily they could beat him. This had the misfortune of being false; but outwardly it would seem not to have been bad policy to conceal the alarm of invasion which sate so uneasily upon us. Mehedi Ali Khan told the Persian Government, that "if the King possessed the ability to check the career of such a Prince as Zemaun Shah, he would serve God and man by doing so; if he did

to death only by a desire of securing the whole sum which he had received, eight hundred rupees of which he had placed in a Sowar's hand. They took the remaining two hundred, and threatened him with certain death if he did not get the whole for them in the course of the morning. The Syud swore to do so; but he no sooner escaped from their hands than he ran to Bauker Ali's house and called upon him for protection. The affair was immediately reported to Azim-ool-Omrah. Mehedi Ali Khan and his accomplices were seized, and led naked, with their hands bound behind their backs, through the streets to the place of confinement for criminals. Whether any further punishment was inflicted on Mehedi Ali Khan the old gentleman said that he was ignorant; that the next place he met him was at Benares when round with Meer Allum, and that he then understood he had been employed by Mr. Duncan at Ghazeepore.' . . . Is not this an extraordinary affair?"

not, of course he would remain quiet."* Whether the Persians believed him or not, is not very apparent—but they had ends of their own to attain, and the diversion which we wanted was made with the best possible results.

On the 13th of May, Malcolm's Moonshee, who had been the bearer of his letters to Teheran, and had been graciously received by the King and his chief Minister, returned with the royal answer to Bushire. Malcolm received the letter of the Shah with becoming state;† and soon afterwards prepared to prosecute his journey, by way of Shiraz, to the Persian capital. By the 22nd everything was ready for his advance. His suite consisted of six European gentlemen, two European servants, two surveying boys, forty-two troopers of the Madras Native Cavalry, forty-nine Bombay Grenadiers, sixty-eight Indian servants and followers, a hundred and three Persian attendants, and two hundred and thirty-six servants and followers belonging to the gentlemen of the Mission. It was no small thing to provide for so numerous a party, and for some hundreds of beasts of burden —horses, camels, and mules‡—on the road to Shiraz. But although the Persian Government had ordered that supplies should everywhere be forthcoming for the Eng-

* Mehedi Ali Khan's own account of his mission, extracted from Malcolm's Persian journal, I have thought sufficiently interesting to give in the Appendix.

† "*May* 13.—My Moonshee arrived, this day, with the King's letter. I received it with great state. The Moonshee, who carried it on a gold salver, passed through the whole of the escort, both cavalry and infantry, who were formed into a street in the front of the tent, and saluted the letter as it passed them. I advanced to the door of the tent to meet it; and after taking the letter from the salver, I applied it to my lips and forehead, and retired to my seat. After I had sate some time I retired to my private apartment and read the royal letter. It was written in the handsomest style, and full of professions of joy at my arrival."—[*MS. Journal.*]

‡ Namely, fourteen riding and state horses—forty-two troopers' horses—thirty-six servants' horses—forty-five horses belonging to the gentlemen of the suite—twenty-seven carriage camels, and three hundred and forty-six mules. The presents alone found employment for a large proportion of the camels and mules.

lish Embassy at the expense of the State, Malcolm well knew that the expense of the State would, really and primarily, be the expense of the people along his road; and so wisely and benevolently determined to pay for everything that was brought into his camp.

On the 15th of June the Embassy reached Shiraz. They entered the city in regular procession, every person having his appointed place in the cavalcade. As they neared the walls, a deputation of the chief Omrah, or noblemen of the Court, came out to meet them with a cortége of about a thousand horsemen. When they approached the British Envoy, they dismounted; and Malcolm immediately did the same. After an interchange of compliments, both parties remounted their horses, and proceeded together to the Mission tents, where they sate down and were regaled, after the custom of the country, with pipes and coffee. The utmost courtesy and good feeling were evinced on both sides; and Malcolm felt assured that the Persian Government intended to render all honor to the country of which he was the representative.

These impressions were confirmed by subsequent acts of distinguished courtesy on the part of the Prince-Regent; but when the forms of the coming interview between his Royal Highness and the British Ambassador came to be arranged, ceremonial difficulties bristled up again, and retarded their adjustment. Ridiculous as was the pride and punctiliousness of the Court—trifling in reality as were the points which the Prince hesitated to concede, Malcolm resolutely determined to demand their concession. The first of these points was that the Prince "should incline his head and shoulders" on giving the Ambassador the signal to be seated. The second was, that the gentlemen of Malcolm's suite should be seated during the interview. The

last was a knotty question of etiquette not capable of easy solution, for the chief Ministers of the Vice-regal Court represented that *they* were compelled to stand in the Prince's presence—why then should not the attendants of the English Elchee? But Malcolm appealed to precedent and authority. He declared that he could produce from Persian history no less than five different examples in support of the observance of the custom for which he contended. The authorities were admitted; but it was argued, on the other hand, that such a liberty was "irreconcileable with the present usage of the Court." Malcolm, however, had made up his mind, and was not to be turned away from his purpose. He directed his Moonshee, therefore, to inform the Persian Minister "that a wish to conciliate had already led him to depart more than he ought from those forms which the customs of his own country rendered proper, and that, as he meant to comply with no further demands, it remained with the Persians to end the discussion—that however disagreeable it might be to him to go to Court without seeing the Prince-Regent, he should prefer such a line of conduct to that of sacrificing the dignity of the State he represented."

Nor was the resolution of the English officer without its anticipated effect. Fearing the anger of the King himself, who had directed that all honor should be rendered to the English Ambassador, the Ministers of the Prince-Regent wisely counselled compliance with Malcolm's demand. But this difficulty was no sooner cleared away than another presented itself. A dispute arose regarding the precise point at which the ceremonial cup of coffee was to be presented to the Ambassador. This also Malcolm cleared away; and on the evening of the 22nd of June he was conducted with becoming honor to the presence of the Prince. Everything now

seemed on the point of accomplishment without any loss of dignity on the part of the representative of Great Britain. But the trickery of the Persian Ministers was too much for him after all. Malcolm had saluted the Prince, and was about to proceed to the seat which had been agreed upon in the preliminary arrangements for the interview, when the master of the ceremonies pointed to a lower one as that on which the Envoy was to seat himself; and planted his own person resolutely in the way of the Englishman's further advance.

Malcolm's first indignant impulse prompted him at once to retire from the presence-chamber. "But, considering the extreme youth of the Prince," says Malcolm, in his own account of this untoward affair, "the marks of favor I had received from the King, and the peculiar situation of the country, I restrained myself from an act which, agreeably to the customs of Persia, would have been deemed a very violent one, which might easily have been misrepresented, and which would probably have weakened the authority of the Prince-Regent's Government." "Impelled by these strong motives," he adds in his Journal, "I seated myself for a few minutes, and then took my leave."

Mortified and indignant, Malcolm returned to his tents. He conceived it to be a case in which, like the Prophet, he did well to be angry. He sent at once for the Mehmendar, through whom the ceremonial of the interview had been arranged, and heaped upon him the severest reproaches. If ample atonement were not made for what was at once a breach of courtesy and a breach of faith, the English Ambassador declared that he would leave Shiraz at once, and report the outrage to the King. The Mehmendar protested his innocence; declared that he had been equally deceived; and went at once to the Minister. On the following morning Malcolm re-

ceived a flowery epistle from the latter, expressing regret that offence had been taken about a trifle, where no offence had been intended; and declaring that it was altogether a mistake of the chamberlain, who had pointed to the wrong seat. For his part, he believed that the Ambassador had designedly taken a lower place, to testify his respect for the Prince. But to Malcolm this letter, which was one rather of expostulation than apology, was unsatisfactory in the extreme. So he demanded another. He demanded one explicitly declaring that the agreement which had been made respecting the ceremonies of the interview had been violated, and expressing the regret of the Prince-Regent on account of this violation. Another letter came, no better than the first. Then pacificatory visits were paid to the English Envoy. Some of the chief men of Shiraz waited upon him, endeavouring to appease his anger; but they only increased his indignation by their petty shifts and frivolous evasions. No soft words or honeyed compliments could induce him to moderate his demand upon the Vice-regal Court. He insisted upon a sufficient apology—and he obtained it.

Then everything went merrily again. Malcolm returned the visits of the chief Persian officers, and was sumptuously entertained by them. The stickling for forms being over, the present-giving commenced. Malcolm now began to distribute his largesses with a prodigality which, whether excessive or not, was at least well considered and systematic. His native predecessor, Mehedi Ali Khan, had assured him that he could do nothing in Persia without such liberality, and had already rendered it in some sort necessary by the gifts which he had himself distributed, and the expectations which he had raised. But even out of this present-giving at Shiraz

some trouble arose. The *amari aliquid* surged up from the very midst of the fountain of delights. Malcolm made a magnificent present to the Prince—a present of watches and pistols; mirrors and telescopes; shawls and table-lustres; knives and toothpicks; filagree boxes and umbrellas; cloths and muslins; with an unlimited supply of sugar, sugar-candy, and chintz.* The present was graciously received. But it was reported to Malcolm that, before his servants had departed, the young Prince had begun to distribute the more curious articles among the chief officers of the Court.† And the Persians would insist upon asking the Envoy the price of the articles which he gave away. This last impertinence Malcolm rebuked. But he was told it was the custom of the country, and that even the King always asked the value of a present before he condescended to receive it.

Little time was allowed to Malcolm, during his residence at Shiraz, either to improve his knowledge of the Persian language, or to acquire information relating to the history and institutions of the country. But he neglected no opportunity that was within his reach; and, at all events, his acquaintance with the manners of the people, without an effort on his part, was continually increasing. His letters at this time were brief and hurried, but amusing. To Mr. Edmonstone, who was then Persian Translator to the Supreme Government, he wrote some

* The sugar alone would have supplied a grocer in a large way of business for a year. The quantity, according to Malcolm's journal, was 339 maunds—or upwards of 27,000 lbs.—besides two tubs of sugar-candy.

† Another annoying circumstance arose, too, out of the conduct of Mahomed Sheriff Khan, to whom Malcolm had sent presents in money and goods to the value of 500*l*. This man, pretending to be offended because the presents had been sent by the hands of a Persian Moonshee, begged that they might be taken back; but subsequently explained, that having been given publicly, they would be taken away from him by the reigning family, on whose avarice he descanted, and begged, therefore, that their value might be given secretly to him.

pleasant anecdotical epistles, from which I make a few extracts. He had imbibed something of the genius of the country, and was already an expert story-teller:

Shiraz, June 28, 1800.—I enclose you a kussuda wrote by a famous poet, whose poetical name is *Mukhlus*. Of its merits I shall say nothing. The man rode thirty miles to present it, and I was obliged to reward him with some rupees—a mode of approbation which I have no doubt convinced him that I was an excellent judge. In one of the many late revolutions that have afflicted Persia, it happened that an Afghan was appointed Governor of Shiraz, who, like most of his tribe, was so illiterate that he could neither read nor write. A hungry poet was hurrying to compliment the new Governor with a fine kussuda, when he was stopped by a friend, who informed him of the Afghan's ignorance, and ridiculed the idea of his carrying poetry to a man who could not read. However, the poet, impelled by necessity to try his fortune, prooeeded, and entered the Duan-Khana. "Who is that man?" asked the Governor. "A poet, who has brought some verses," said the attendant. "What is the use of verses?" said the Governor. "Verses," said the poet, taking courage, "make great men like you immortal." "Do they?" said the Afghan. "I should like to hear what they are like." The poet began to read aloud, but was stopped before he had finished a couplet by the Governor, who exclaimed, "Oh! I understand it very well. You want money. Give that fellow a hundred tomauns!" Away went Mr. Poet with the cash, which he showed his friend as he passed; telling him he was mistaken as to the Governor, who was an excellent judge of poetry, and had a quicker apprehension of an author's real meaning and design than any man he had ever met with.

You will see by my public letters what disputes about forms I have been engaged in. When I return, I may commence author, and write a work on the Kyda Nushest-oo-Burkust* of Oriental Muphsis. We are in general too loose and disregardful of such points, and it is our general usage which occasions our distress in particular instances. This is a truth of which I am well con-

* Literally, the Art of Sitting and Rising—or Court Etiquette.

vinced, and of which I have no hesitation in confessing myself an example. No man is exempt from error. Shame can fall only on those who persevere in a wrong road.

I have sent for the firman of the King, giving an account of his successful progress in Khorassan, which came yesterday, that I may peruse it. My doing so will be taken as a compliment. I shall have to give a handsome present to the Persian that brings and reads it; but I shall not be able correctly to ascertain its contents. I have had hitherto so little time to study Persian, that I fear I shall not return a very improved scholar, further than having my Hindostanee pronunciation corrected. Strachey and Pasley will both speak well.

Shiraz, *July* 26, 1800.—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of April, from which I received no small satisfaction, as it relieved me from some of my fears. As to that timidity which you compliment me upon, it is the natural consequence of my *youth* and *inexperience*. I trust I shall not disappoint your hopes; but the expense I have incurred is heavy, and it is on that score alone I am alarmed. Not that it is one farthing more than I have to the best of my judgment thought necessary to answer, or rather further, the ends of my mission, and to support the dignity of the British Government; but people sometimes differ in their opinions on such points.

With respect to information of the country and its extraordinary inhabitants, I spare no pains to obtain it. I make what remarks I am able, and store all the materials I can lay my hands upon for future use. This is the only pleasant employment I have; I have seldom leisure for it, so much am I occupied with forms, feasts, and intrigues.

I am trying to get some good books, but the task is difficult. There are few modern writers of celebrity, and the ancient authors are to be procured both cheaper and better in India. If this country ever again enjoys repose, it will overflow, as usual, with poetical productions. The men appear to me all poets. Their conversation is elegant, pointed, and witty; and was it not too often spoilt by flattery, would be the pleasantest in the world. Of their readiness, you have, no doubt, heard wonders. I am obliged, by usage, to tell you a story every letter. Take the following:

A Persian ambassador at Constantinople, being asked by the Grand Signior which he thought the most delightful spot in the

world, answered, without hesitation, "My own house, please your Majesty." "Your own house!" repeated the monarch, who, from the ambassador's reputed politeness had expected a compliment. "Yes," said the ambassador, "my own house. Your Majesty will, no doubt, readily allow, as all learned men have done, that the fourth climate is the most delightful in the world. It is equally generally admitted, that Irak surpasses all regions in the fourth climate. Ispahan is, beyond dispute, the pleasantest place in Iran; and every Persian knows that Abas-abad is superior to all other parts of Ispahan; and my house is beyond compare the best in Abas-abad!" . . . . I shall hunt for the ruins of my brother-envoy's house in about a month.

To his father also he wrote regarding the history and traditions of the country:

Shiraz, August 17, 1800.— . . . . Everything hitherto, thank God, goes well. I have been received and treated in a style of the most splendid magnificence; and I trust the purposes of my mission may be answered. Of this you may rest assured, that no trouble or exertion on my part shall be spared to give satisfaction to those by whom I have been so honorably distinguished.

I employ every leisure hour in researches into the history of this extraordinary country, with which we are but little acquainted. Of the little information we have received respecting its ancient history from the Greeks you will form an idea, when I assure you that, with the exception of Alexander's conquests, which are related by both authors (though in a very different manner), there is no fact recorded by the Greeks of which Persian histories make the least mention, nor is there one name that the Greeks have given to either the Persian generals or towns that can be understood by any Persian. Indeed, there are many so foreign to the idiom of his language, that he cannot pronounce them when repeated. I shall, I trust, collect materials that will either enable myself, or some one better qualified, to give much information on this subject. The climate of this country is delightful. Had it the constitution of Great Britain, its inhabitants need not sigh for Paradise. As it is, I would rather live on Douglan Hill.

The summer was now far advanced, and Malcolm was

eager to push on to Teheran. He had hoped that the Mission would be able to depart from Shiraz at the beginning of August—but there was an element of delay which he knew not how to surmount. Among other presents for the Shah were some gigantic mirrors, which there was extreme difficulty in conveying from the coast to the capital. They had now been for more than two months moving slowly on men's heads; and when at last they reached Shiraz, a question arose as to the means of their further transport to Teheran. To Malcolm's apprehension, it appeared that they would travel with equal safety and greater expedition on mules.* Against this, however, the officers of the Persian Court protested. They declared such a mode of transport impracticable, and persuaded the mule-men to support their opinions. But determined to put the knotty question to the test, Malcolm sent out one of the huge looking-glasses a stage along the road, and found that it was conveyed without risk or difficulty on his mule-frames to the appointed place. The experiment, indeed, was so successful, that it ought to have silenced all opposition. But the Persian officers still lifted up their voices in favor of the human transport.

The cause of this was no secret to Malcolm. The conveyance of a few looking-glasses from a town on the coast to another in the interior, would seem to be a small matter. But, in reality, it was a great affair of State, affecting mightily the interests of thousands. The King had ordered the cumbrous articles to be conveyed to Teheran at the expense of the State, and although he was then engaged in important military operations, he had a place in his heart for the Englishman's mirrors. When a report reached Shiraz that some of them had

* Supported on frames with shafts constructed for the purpose.

been broken on the road, Malcolm was informed that the King would unquestionably cause all the heads of the districts and villages concerned in their transport to be put to death, and their property confiscated, unless the English Ambassador interceded in their behalf. And, in reply, he sent a message to the Minister, declaring that if he heard of one person suffering on this account, the mirrors should not go a mile further, and that he would sooner leave Persia than cause the death of one innocent man. It was plain to him that already the mirrors had been converted into engines of oppression and extortion. Twelve hundred men had been daily employed in the conveyance of them from Bushire to Shiraz. And Malcolm was credibly informed that the officers in charge of them had extorted 4000 tomauns* from the districts through which the mirrors had passed; and that a great part of the money had gone into the coffers of Chiragh Ali Khan, the Minister himself.

Here, then, was the secret of the opposition to the new mode of transport. The Minister visited Malcolm with the express object of diverting him from his purpose; and declared that if ten thousand men expired under the load it was but a trifle, after all, in comparison with the desire of his Majesty and his servants to contribute to the pleasure and convenience of the English Ambassador. But Malcolm was not to be moved either by arguments or compliments. So, at last, on the 30th of August, the royal mirrors went forward on the mule-frames, accompanied by an escort of cavalry and infantry; and a few days afterwards the Ambassador himself, having taken formal leave of the Prince-Regent and been dismissed with all honor, proceeded on his journey to the capital.

* A tomaun is about equal to a pound sterling.

The journey was not an adventurous one. On the 23rd of September, the Mission reached Ispahan, the ancient capital of the empire, and still, when Malcolm wrote, "though fallen from its former greatness, beyond all compare the richest and most populous city in Persia." There they were received with extraordinary respect. A body of 10,000 troops—horsemen and foot-men—under the son and brother of the Governor, with an immense concourse of people, went out to meet them. On the following day, the Begler Beg himself, "with a numerous and splendid retinue," waited on Malcolm, and was profuse in his expressions of friendship. Here the Mission remained for more than a month, during which time (a longer period than was intended) they were magnificently entertained by the chief people of the place, and returned the compliment with gorgeous presents. From the hasty letters which he wrote at that time a few passages may be taken, to illustrate both the style of his reception at Ispahan, and the feelings with which he regarded all this pomp and parade:

[To his Uncle, Mr. John Pasley.]—*Ispahan, Sept.* 27, 1800.—I have the pleasure to inform you of my arrival at the famous city of Ispahan, which I reached on the 23rd inst. My stay will not be above ten days here, and I hope to be at Teheran on the 20th of October. All is well hitherto. Nothing can exceed the attention I receive. I was met eight miles from this town by all the great men, ten thousand troops and about twenty thousand inhabitants, and conducted to my tents, which I have since left to occupy one of the finest palaces, which has been prepared for my reception. But were I to venture into any detail of the extraordinary marks of respect and attention I met with, you would accuse me of writing you a romance instead of a letter. All that I can assure you is, that although my head is high it never was further from being turned. The more I see of this parade and nonsense, the more I sigh to escape with honor and reputation from the strange bustle. I shall be able to judge well

of my probable success in two months more. Hitherto all goes well, and the confidence which this Mission has given has already bestowed new life on the commerce of this quarter. I know that the orders for India goods from this country are doubled.

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*Ispahan, Oct.* 9, 1800.—Though I did not inform you from Shiraz what I had done in your commission, do not suppose I was neglectful. I shall present you with a copy of Sadi and Hafiz that, in point of correctness, will not be easily equalled. The Sadi I have purchased. It is in a fine hand, and has been written two hundred and fifty years. The Hafiz is copying by a *Khoush Novess* from the celebrated copy that was collated from a hundred copies by Sheram Khan, and consecrated at the tomb of the author by that Prince. I have engaged three Moullahs to compare the copy writing for me with that at the tomb, and affix their seal in proof of its correctness.

All goes on hitherto swimmingly; attention increases as I advance. The entertainment given me yesterday by the Begler Beg exceeded all I have yet seen. The illuminations and fireworks were very grand; and to crown all, when we were seated in an elegant apartment, one side of it (which was chiefly formed of mirrors) opened, and a supper laid out in the English style, with tables and chairs, presented itself, to our utter astonishment, for we little expected such apparatus in the middle of Persia. The difficulty of feasting us in our own style made the compliment the greater.

You may rest assured that Zemaun Shah can do nothing in India before the setting in of the rains, 1801. He has not time, even if he had the power, for such an attempt; and by the blessing of God, he will for some years to come be too much engaged in this quarter to think of any other. However, I only speak with certainty of the events of the ensuing season. Of other times I shall be able to give a better opinion in three or four years more.

I am getting together as much information as I can in this country; but the nature of my situation requires me to be very cautious. Accounts are gloomy both from Europe and Egypt. Those rascals the French will persuade the Turks that they are their best friends before they have done; and if they succeed in establishing themselves in Egypt, on any terms, we must look to every quarter, and to none with more care than the Persian Gulf.

[To the Same.]—*Ispahan, October* 27.—I have much pleasure in transmitting you publicly by this despatch a Murasaleh from the Prince-Regent at Shiraz. You will observe from it, that my first and great dispute about rank is happily terminated. I give myself, I assure you, some credit for making these proud gentlemen alter their style. The nature of my situation, and the distance I am from you, will oblige me to take some liberties with his Lordship's letters, which, under other circumstances, would be inexcusable. In the first place, I shall not deliver one of the letters to the Ministers, as they would only create jealousies and disputes, and be the cause of alarm to the King, who is averse, I am informed, to his Ministers having any influence. In the second, as the opinion of Mehdi Ali Khan, and of an abler than him that I have ventured to consult, leaves me without a doubt that the *Tedwy-Shah-Aulum* in the Marquis's seal would be the occasion of much difficulty, and might give the King a pretext to show his greatness, and put a bar on all my proceedings, I have, therefore, after much consideration, put the Company's large seal with the credentials on the King's letter, and a smaller one on the credentials. The impression of the seal in the inside of the letter is so indistinct, that there is nothing to be read from it but the *Kishwur Hind:* so it cannot betray us. I am not at all pleased with this transaction, and am not assured the Marquis will. I have acted, as far as my judgment goes, for the best.

I shall be at Teheran on the 12th of next month, and a short time will enable me to tell you what will be the result of the Mission. Had I to do with men of sense and moderation I should not fear; but I have to deal with a race that are possessed of neither.

On the 28th of October the Mission departed from Ispahan, and pursued their journey to the capital. At the flourishing city of Cashan, whose silks and carpets are among the finest in the world, they were welcomed with demonstrations of honor, and received with magnificent hospitality. One of the royal palaces had been fitted up for the habitation of the Ambassador, and a succession of feasts prepared for his entertainment.

The liberality of the Governor somewhat perplexed him ;* and an episode of another kind tried his forbearance to the utmost.† But he was proof against both assaults, and proceeded on his journey without any loss either of dignity or temper.

As the Embassy approached Teheran, a goodly assemblage came out to greet it. Many of the chief officers of state, with several squadrons of the King's body-guards, had been despatched some miles along the road to conduct the English Envoy to the residence which had been prepared for his reception. It was the house of the Prime Minister, Hadjee Ibrahim, who had been especially appointed to attend the British Ambassador. A sumptuous dinner had been provided for him, of which the Minister also partook, and the evening was passed in friendly conversation. Our friendship with the Russians, and our bitter enmity against the French, were the chief topics of discourse. And Malcolm was repeatedly assured that the King was beyond measure delighted at his auspicious arrival.

On the 16th of November, the English Ambassador was presented to the Persian monarch. After the ceremonies had been arranged, Malcolm, with all his suite, proceeded towards the palace, the drums and trumpets of his escort heralding his approach. One of his chief Hindostanee servants carried the letter of the Governor-

* The Governor sent Malcolm a dress of honor and some fine horses, and requested that he would wear the former and ride one of the latter to an entertainment he was about to give him. To this request Malcolm replied that he could not wear a Khelat over his clothes from any person except the King, and therefore he hoped the Governor would not send it; but that he would have no objection to ride one of the horses, provided he was allowed to put his own saddle upon it: so necessary was it to maintain the dignity of his office, as measured by the ceremonial standard of the country.

† "An entertainment of fireworks, &c., was prepared in the garden this evening. At the conclusion of this, one of the chief officers, who had been appointed to wait upon me, being much intoxicated, spoke in a manner rather disrespectful, of which I took no notice, except by ending the conversation and retiring."—[*Malcolm's MS. Journal.*]

General. On reaching the inner gate, having dismounted, the Ambassador was conducted to an apartment in which the Dewan-Beg* was sitting, and desired to seat himself on the other end of the same cushion. The Governor-General's letter was then placed between them. Coffee and pipes were introduced; and after the lapse of nearly an hour it was announced that the King himself was seated on the throne, and that he was prepared to receive the English Envoy in the Dewan-Khana, or Hall of Audience.

Conducted by the chamberlains, or masters of the ceremonies, Malcolm advanced, wearing the uniform of an English officer.† The audience-chamber was at the further end of a great square, "in various parts of which the officers of the Court were marshalled according to their respective ranks." It was a lofty chamber, profusely ornamented, in one corner of which the King, gorgeously attired, and one blaze of jewellery, was seated upon his cushioned throne.‡ As Malcolm advanced, attended by the masters of the ceremonies—one of the officers of the Court bearing the Governor-General's letter on a golden salver—he uncovered his head whenever they made obeisance. As he neared the throne, a herald proclaimed that Captain John Malcolm was come from the Governor-General of India to see his Majesty of Persia. "He is welcome," replied the King. Then

* The Dewan-Beg (or Lord of the Court) was Solimaun Khan, chief of the great Kujjar tribe, and therefore a man of the highest consideration. A dispute subsequently arose out of the refusal of this man to rise upon Malcolm's entrance.

† Mehedi Ali Khan had endeavoured to persuade Malcolm to array himself in costly apparel, more in accordance with the ideas of the people than his plain soldier's uniform. But he laughed to scorn all such mummery, and declared that he would appear at the Persian Court as an Englishman and a soldier.

‡ "The King," wrote Malcolm in his journal, "has a fine countenance and an elegant person. He was dressed with a magnificence which it is impossible to describe—being covered with jewels, many of which are those of Nadir Shah. His dress could not be worth less than a million sterling."

Malcolm walked up to the door of the audience-chamber, made a low bow, advanced to the centre of the room, and there took the seat provided for him. The gentlemen of his suite sate at a distance below him.* The Prime Minister received the Governor-General's letter, and presented it to the King, who ordered it to be opened; and one of the Secretaries of State then "broke the seal and read it with a very loud voice, in a clear and distinct manner."

Having repeated his expressions of welcome, the King inquired after his Majesty of England; hoped that King George was in good health; asked how many wives he had; and put some perplexing questions respecting the manners of our Court. Then, havinginquired after the treatment which the Ambassador had received on his journey, and how he liked the climate of the country, his Majesty spoke of the friendship which had always existed between Persia and Great Britain, and of the pleasurable feelings with which he contemplated its establishment on a firm basis. But beyond these general expressions of good feeling nothing passed at the interview relating to business of state. Malcolm, however, had every reason to congratulate himself on his reception. The affability with which the King had discoursed with him was declared to be "gracious beyond example."

On the 27th of November, Malcolm was again conducted to the audience-hall. The magnificent presents which he had brought with him were now to be laid at the feet of the King. Watches glittering with jewels; caskets of gold beautifully enamelled; lustres of variegated glass; richly chased guns and pistols of curious

* This matter, as at Shiraz, had caused some difficulty; but Malcolm being ready with his precedents, the obstacle had been removed.

construction; marvels of European science, as air-guns and electrifying machines; besides a diamond of great value, and the mirrors, which had been brought up with so much toil, were now spread out before the gratified eyes of the Persian monarch. He received them with every mark of satisfaction, and spent an hour in affable discourse with the Elchee. He had many questions to ask. He was curious to know what were the manners and customs of the people, and more especially the Courts of England and India; how many princes of the blood there were in the former country; how they were treated by the King; and how the succession to the throne was regulated. To all of these Malcolm returned short but satisfactory answers; and took his leave pleased as before.

The present which he had made to the King was, doubtless, a magnificent one; and it put the Company to very heavy charges. It was much larger than Malcolm had designed; but he believed that it did not exceed the amount which sound policy at the time dictated. He had begun thoroughly to understand the character of the magnates of the Persian Court; to know what very little people they were—people with the weaknesses of children, and only the vices of men. If he had had to deal with men of probity and good sense, he would have acted differently—but with such a people, with "a Government," as he said, "not two stages removed from a state of barbarism," what could he do? He would have been but a sorry diplomatist if he had not shaped his conduct in accordance with the temper of the Court to which he was deputed. He believed that the object for which he had been despatched to Persia would be best attained by bribing the Court into acquiescence; and he thought it was sound policy

and good economy to bribe not like a pedlar, but a King.*

And the system adopted was, at all events, crowned with success. No sooner had Malcolm delivered his presents than business proceeded apace. After some intrigues on the part of another Persian nobleman of inferior rank and official position, Hadjee Ibrahim Khan, the chief Minister, was appointed to negotiate the treaty with the British Ambassador. Many months had now been expended in the observance of forms and the performance of ceremonies; and Malcolm was eager to report some substantial progress to the Government which he represented. The delay had not, however, been without its uses. The "whirligig of Time had brought in its revenges." Zemaun Shah, the once-dreaded invader, had been reduced to impotence by fear of invasion. The assailant of other kingdoms was now

* As the extravagance of Malcolm's mission, especially in the matter of presents, has been commented upon by some writers (myself among the number), it is only right that his own recorded justification should be given in this place. "I had good grounds," he wrote in his journal, "to conclude that my conduct on this point will establish me an influence that would enable me to carry both the Political and Commercial objects of my mission, without subjecting the Government to any heavy engagements; and that, at all events, the King would be so pleased as to have had no hesitation in making a campaign to Khorassan next season—a subject in which I had reason to think there was a difference of opinion among the Ministers—and this in itself appeared an object of primary importance. Secondly, so great a present is in consistency with the style of the Mission; and I may venture to say, will put it almost out of the power of an European nation to rival it in a country where so much depends on show and expense as in Persia. Thirdly, in proportion to this particular act the conduct of the King must, to a certain degree, be regulated in the Embassy which he sends to the Governor-General; and not only the dignity of the British Government will be advanced, but the present expense in some measure met, by the value of the presents he sends on that occasion. Fourthly, not only my personal consequence, which is of the last import to my success, will be established, and the most honorable treatment secured, but all tongues will be silenced—none daring to speak in this country against a man with whom the sovereign is pleased. And, fifthly, it is probable that my stay in Persia will be shortened two months by my negotiations being facilitated—a circumstance which, if it takes place, will meet the additional expense."

trembling for the safety of his own. He had enemies abroad and enemies at home. War and revolution threatened not only his sovereignty but his life. The invasion of Khorassan by the Persians, which Mehedi Ali Khan had suggested, had brought Zemaun Shah back to Western Afghanistan, just as Malcolm was entering the Persian territory; and now the rebellion of Prince Mahmoud, which Futteh Ali had fomented, cleansed the mind of the Douranee monarch of every vain thought of attempting the invasion of Hindostan. Whilst Malcolm was negotiating the Persian treaty, the unhappy ruler of Afghanistan was nearly at his last gasp. This circumstance was greatly in our favor. That which Mehedi Ali Khan had asserted with diplomatic mendacity might now be truthfully repeated by Malcolm. The English in India were no longer disturbed by any thoughts of the armies of Zemaun Shah.

One source of embarrassment was thus removed. Malcolm could now assume a tone far more independent than that which was permitted him whilst the withdrawal of Zemaun Shah was in reality the leading object of his mission. He could adopt the language of his predecessor without lying. So he told Hadjee Ibrahim that it was necessary, to the cultivation of the friendship of the two states, that a Commercial Treaty advantageous to the interests of both should be concluded; but that, as to the Political Treaty, although prudence would seem to recommend it, there appeared no immediate necessity for it on the part of either. This, he added, "being particularly the case with the English Government, he was anxious to know the sentiments of his Majesty before he entered into any particulars respecting such a treaty; but if he found them favorable, he should,

without hesitation, prepare a schedule of that as well as of the commercial one."*

But Hadjee Ibrahim clutched at the double treaty; and asked Malcolm to prepare the schedules. On the 3rd of December the latter presented the required documents to the Persian Minister. The different articles of the two treaties were accompanied by a running commentary, setting forth the reasons which seemed to recommend them to the adoption of the two States. The Commercial Treaty declared that there should be unrestricted trade between the two countries; that the English should have the right of establishing factories wherever they pleased on the coast or the interior of Persia; that they should have the power to punish (but not with loss of life) Persian subjects attached to the factory, and offending against its laws; that natives of England or India belonging to our factories should be free from the payment of taxes and other imposts; that no import duties were to be levied on the staple articles sent by the East India Company to Persia; that the authorities of both States should render every assistance to each other's vessels in distress; and that the English should be placed in possession of the islands of Kishm, Anjam, and Khargh, in the Persian Gulf, with permission to fortify and occupy them.† It was a sketch-treaty, indeed, very advantageous to the British Govern-

* *Malcolm's MS. Journal.* Further on he says: "On the political part of my mission I spoke with indifference, lest I should, by showing any anxiety, give an idea that the English would purchase the assistance of the Persian monarch. I told the Hadjee, that if the King his master saw his advantage in entering into political engagements on principles of prudence and equity, that such I was authorised by the Governor-General to contract; but that if he was averse to such a measure, I should neither persist in it, nor enter into further explanation."

† These islands did not then actually belong to Persia, though the King claimed a right of sovereignty over them. They were occupied by the Arabs of the opposite coast. It was, however, in the power of the Persians at any time to reannex them to their empire; and it was only under their alliance that we could have occupied or retained possession of them.

ment. Its advantages to the Persians were, that they were to be permitted to purchase as much of our produce as we were disposed to send them.

The Political Treaty declared that neither State should, on any occasion, give assistance or countenance to the enemies of the other; that the ambition of Zemaun Shah should be repressed; that the King of Persia should make no peace with that monarch which did not stipulate that he should for ever abandon all thoughts of invading Hindostan; and that if he should ever break the engagement, the King of Persia should immediately attack him; that the East India Company, on their part, if Zemaun Shah were to invade the Persian territory, should aid their ally by sending him military stores, and by any other practicable measure; that in order to further the King of Persia's existing attempt on Khorassan, the English should undertake to land at Bushire, within a given time, certain pieces of ordnance with their equipments; that if the French should attempt to effect a landing in the Persian Gulf, or should invade any other part of the Persian dominions, the King of Persia should either lead or send an army to expel them, and that the English should despatch ships of war and troops to cooperate with the Shah, and supply ordnance and military stores for the purpose; and finally, that the King of Persia should engage never to allow the French, or any European power in alliance with them, to build a fort, or to settle in any part of the Persian dominions.

Such was the substance of the two treaties, the different articles of which Malcolm supported with an overwhelming array of written argument in the shape of marginal memoranda. That the French were not spared we might have been sure, even without a record of the fact. It was one of the objects of the English Ambassador to alarm the Persian Court by dwelling upon the demo-

cratical tendencies and the regicidal propensities of the French; and this it was easy to do without a word of exaggeration. But before the purport of the Political Treaty had been communicated to the King, intelligence was received by Malcolm to the effect that the French had evacuated Egypt. Coupled with tidings of the continued success of the rebellion of Prince Mahmoud in Afghanistan, the news from the banks of the Nile rendered Malcolm even less anxious than before to press the Political Treaty upon the Court. He thought it would be well, under all these improved circumstances, to leave it to the King to take the initiative himself.

In the mean while, that article of the Commercial Treaty which stipulated for the surrender of the islands in the Persian Gulf was creating much excitement and discussion among the statesmen of the capital. It was generally unpopular. Some believed that the objections to it were insuperable. Others thought that acquiescence might be bought, after the usual fashion. At the head of the opposition was Meerza Sheffee, whose influence was then on the ascendant at the Persian Court.* It was intimated to the Envoy that a few hundred tomauns would secure the support of this man; and to Malcolm it seemed bad policy to withhold a douceur which was to produce such desirable results. So the money was given. But the opposition continued. It was plain that there were other impediments than the cupidity of this intriguing politician.

The King himself was alarmed. And what wonder? Ignorant as were the Persians, they knew at least that the English had somehow established factories on the coast of India, and that out of these factories had arisen the greatest political phenomenon the world had ever

* He subsequently reached the highest eminence, and was conspicuous in the later history of our relations with the Persian Court.

seen—the British Empire in the East. They may not have been thoroughly acquainted with all the progressive steps by which this great result had been attained; but, perhaps, they had a strong suspicion of the fact that this very "permission to fortify," now sought in the Persian Gulf, had been the beginning of the conquest of India. There was a warning conveyed by this page of history, very intelligible, when once suggested, to the Shah. And Malcolm had sufficient candor and sufficient sagacity to acknowledge the force of the suggestion. He saw that if the idea once took possession of the Persian mind, it was sure to be, and not unreasonably, an obstacle to the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty. So he intimated, in familiar converse to some of the chief officers of state, that he was sorry he had said anything about the islands; that it was perfectly plain that if the English required them for their own uses, they could easily take them; but that the protection of the Persian trade, especially against the pirates who infested the Gulf, was a great matter, and unless the English occupied some such post as was proposed it was difficult to secure this desirable end. But the alarm that had been created was not easily to be allayed. It was intimated to Malcolm that the terms generally of the Commercial Treaty were acceded to by the King—that his Majesty was willing also to conclude the Political one without any curtailment—but that, as the cession of the islands involved many important considerations, he thought it expedient that the settlement of the question should be deferred; and that as he purposed to depute an Ambassador to India, the matter could then be discussed and arranged.

Whilst these negotiations were going on—necessarily in an indirect and desultory manner—the old year wore to a close, and Malcolm grew eager to bring the business

to a conclusion, and to receive formal leave to depart. The time, however, was not suffered to hang heavily on his hands. He was everywhere entertained with overflowing hospitality. The Persian noblemen and great officers of state vied with one another in their efforts to regale, after the most sumptuous fashion, the representative of the English nation; and did the best they could to render their capital a garden of delights. Nor were these compliments paid only to the country to which the Elchee belonged, and the Government which he served. The Persians appreciated the character of the man. Malcolm had become very popular among them. His cheerful, cordial manners; his wonderful flow of conversation; his copious supply of anecdote; and a sort of general *bonhommie*, which made him, within proper bounds, all things to all men, rendered him, indeed, a common favorite; whilst his manly bearing and his resolute honesty commanded universal respect. That they lusted greatly after the rich gifts of which he was the bearer is not to be denied; but they were not insensible to the good qualities of the young Englishman; and in spite of all their transparent selfishness there was some sincerity in their affection for the man.

And by no man was he more regarded than by the King. He had several audiences of his Majesty, and at all was he received not only with marked respect, but with an affability of manner which was a flattering tribute to the personal character of the Envoy. He presented Malcolm with a dress of honor, which the English gentleman wore over his uniform on the occasion of his next visit to the Shah; he gave him a jewelled dagger and an elaborate portrait of himself, as marks of his royal affection; and at the last visit which the Ambassador paid him, he said that he "should always consider

Malcolm as a favorite, and desire his Ministers to write to him in whatever part of the world he might be." And when he assured Malcolm, at parting, that he should ever feel the warmest interest in his welfare, the words were more truly spoken than are commonly the compliments of kings.

The month of January wore on; but still the cession of the islands remained an unadjusted question. The request which Malcolm had made had become matter of such notoriety that he was unwilling to abandon it,—at all events without a compromise. So he put forth more arguments and distributed more presents; and hoped to be able to introduce an article pledging the Persian Government not to resist the occupation of the islands if the British at any future time should urge the expediency of the measure. But the embarrassment which might be occasioned by such a pledge was too obvious to be overlooked; and the concession was not to be wrung from the King. The point, however, was not one on which Malcolm had been instructed to insist. There was an object in urging it upon the Persian Government altogether irrespective of the result, and that object had been attained.* So Malcolm, upon a full consideration of the matter, determined to content himself with the introduction of a clause, stating in general terms that there were other matters to be arranged between the two States, which might be fully discussed when the Persian

* "The reason," wrote Malcolm in his journal, "of my hitherto pressing it so much on this Court, has been chiefly to facilitate the other parts of the negotiation, which it has effectually done. The demand of these islands has at once satisfied short-sighted, ignorant men of the cause of my embassy, and the great expenses incurred, for which they were at a loss to account; and the political part of my mission has thence appeared a just and equal, but a subordinate object. It has been, in consequence, easily concluded, which the avarice of the Court would have prevented, had they ever dreamt it was the principal object of the Embassy."

Ambassador, whom the King was about to despatch to Hindostan, should reach that country.

Everything now promised a speedy conclusion to these long-protracted negotiations. One difficulty after another had been cleared away, and the goal seemed to be really in view. But when, on the 25th of January, copies of the two treaties, drawn up by the Persian Ministers, were presented to Malcolm, he found that they had been "altered and mutilated in such a manner as to have lost their original form." This was too much for the patience even of the most enduring of ambassadors; and Malcolm was not one to submit to it without manifesting his indignation. So he sent back the treaties with a message to the Ministers, requesting them, as a favor, at once to put an end to their trifling and duplicity, and declaring that he was anxious to leave Teheran, but could see no end to the negotiations, unless they would be pleased to proceed in a straightforward manner. This remonstrance had the desired effect. The treaties were returned with a request that he would correct them, and a promise that they should be immediately made out in the words of his amended copies.

No time was lost in amending the drafts and returning them to the Persian Ministers. But Malcolm's patience was tried by further delay. So, after the lapse of two days, feeling certain that without some such demonstration upon his part the fair copies of the treaties would not be sent to him, he ordered forward his tents and his baggage, and made every preparation for the march. On the 28th, the chief Minister, Hadjee Ibrahim, dined with him; and after dinner the treaties were brought. All the necessary formalities of signing and sealing were then gone through in the manner which had been previously agreed upon; and then Malcolm rejoiced, for he knew that his work was done.

Whether these treaties* were ever formally concluded and rendered binding on the two States, has been sometimes questioned. A treaty between two states is not binding on either until the signatures or seals of the two contracting powers, or their legitimate proxies, or representatives, are attached to them. It seems that in the very midst of the negotiation it was declared that the king could not attach his seal or signature to a treaty made with any one of lower rank, and that as the Governor-General of India was at most only a Viceroy, the treaty then under consideration could not bear the royal seal, or the royal signature. But this difficulty was surmounted by the suggestion that a firman, in the name of the king, should be attached, under the royal seal, to each of the treaties, calling upon all the officers of the state to fulfil its prescribed conditions. The copies of the treaties, with the royal firman attached, and sealed by Hadjee Ibrahim, as proxy for the king, were given to Malcolm; and another set, signed by Malcolm, was delivered to the Persian Minister. This latter set was to be retained by the Persian Court until other copies, issued in the name of the English Government, under a mandate corresponding with the King of Persia's firman, could be formally given to the ambassador deputed to receive them.† It would seem, therefore, that up to this point the treaties had not been formally concluded. It had been agreed that a Persian nobleman, Hadjee Khalil Khan, should be despatched immediately to India

* The treaties themselves will be found in the Appendix. I doubt whether they have been published before. They are not given in the collection of treaties published by order of Parliament at the outset of the Afghan war.

† Malcolm's words, as contained in his journal, are—"After dinner the fair copies of the treaties were brought. Those which had the firmans of the King affixed, after being sealed by the Hadjee (Ibrahim Khan), were given to me; and another set signed and sealed by me were delivered to him to keep, till copies with an order in the name of the English Government should be given by the Governor-General to the Ambassador from the King of Persia."

to conclude the business; but a lamentable accident, of which I shall presently have occasion to write, prevented its conclusion. In whatever state our relations were when Malcolm quitted Persia, they remained for some years afterwards, until, indeed, a new treaty was concluded. Neither statesmen nor public writers, at the time or since, have had any very clear perception of the state in which our relations actually were after the first Mission to Persia. The question was never raised by the necessity for any practical solution of it. We had stirring work nearer home; and, whether the obligations of the Persian treaties would, or would not, have been regarded, they remained in effect a dead letter.

But although the letter of the treaty may have been a dead letter, its spirit was a living influence. It is not to be doubted that whatever may have come, or may have not come, of the articles to which Captain John Malcolm and Hadjee Ibrahim Khan affixed their seals, the mission of the former to the Court of Persia had an effect upon the mind both of the king and the people very beneficial to our interests. It raised the character of the British nation in their eyes; and in proportion as we rose in their favor our enemies declined. What was really established was a general good feeling between the two countries. The specific advantages accruing from the Mission it is not so very easy to define.*

Of the treaties themselves it has been said that they were distinguished by nothing so much as the truculence with which they proscribed the French. But the passages which have been most condemned are contained not in

* That this Mission may have had a tendency to lay bare our secret fears of invasion by an European power advancing on India through Persia, would appear to be more than probable. Malcolm seems to have been aware of this, for he endeavoured to conceal the importance attached to the Political phase of the question, and to keep the Commercial Treaty prominently forward as the real object of his mission.

the treaties, but in the firmans which the King attached to them. Those firmans, as I have shown, were written merely for the purpose of getting over a formal difficulty; and it does not appear that Malcolm was responsible either for the letter or for the spirit of these sanguinary edicts. In one of these firmans an order is issued to the provincial Governors, directing that they shall expel and extirpate the French, and never allow them to obtain a footing in any place, and that in order to accomplish this they were "at full liberty to disperse and slay the intruders." But whether this order was intended to be taken in its literal acceptation, or (as assuredly it was) a mere Oriental flourish in keeping with the rest of the firman, Malcolm does not appear to have originated it. The firmans of the King were his own, and he was responsible for them. If the words had been in the body of the treaty it might have been a different matter.*

That the language of the treaties themselves was sufficiently strong, will appear to every one who takes the trouble to read them. The two contracting parties undertook to expel and extirpate the French if they ever attempted to occupy the islands or shores of Persia. But we must no more read these treaties of 1801 with the eyes of 1855, than their Oriental verbiage with the understandings of Englishmen. Every Englishman in those days hated the French. In no one was the anti-Gallican feeling stronger than in the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley had instructed Malcolm to keep the French out of Persia; and those were not times in which we were wont to be over-nice in the language wherein we pro-

* It has been stated (in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xii.) by one of the highest possible authorities on all subjects connected with our Persian diplomacy, that "Captain Malcolm persuaded the Shah to issue a firman to the provincial Governors, which directed them 'to expel and extirpate—to disperse and slay,'" &c. But it will have been seen that this is hardly a correct version of the matter, the firman having been attached to the treaty as a mere makeweight, in order to enable the King's seal to be set upon it.

scribed our enemies. I doubt not that many things were said and written in those days which it would not be pleasant to read in the spring of 1855 in the Champs Elysées or the trenches of Sebastopol. But at the dawn of the present century it was considered only proper patriotism to speak of the French as savage animals beyond the pale of civilisation. And the English in India, who knew the results better than the causes of the French Revolution, were, perhaps, even more bitter against them than their brethren at home. The feeling may not have been creditable, but it was very natural; and Malcolm, who did everything in a hearty, outright manner, I have no doubt cursed the French with as much complacency as the rest.

A chapter of pure diplomacy is one neither pleasant to write, nor pleasant to read. Indian diplomacy, however, is for the most part of a mixed character. Its accompaniments are the din of arms and the roar of artillery, not the splutter of fireworks and the lying euphuism of silken courtiers. It was on fields of enterprise and danger, where treaties were to be dictated at the point of the bayonet, not bought by jewelled watches and bags of sugar, that the nobility of Malcolm's nature shone out to the greatest advantage. He was sent to Persia by Lord Wellesley, commissioned to do a certain work, which he did, in as manly and as effectual a way as it was possible to do it. But he had to deal with tricksters and liars; with men beyond all example selfish and cupidinous; and it was impossible to negotiate with such a people in perfect singleness and sincerity without incurring the risk of eventual failure. If there were any deviations from that pure simplicity of truth, which it is so delightful to contemplate both in public and in private life, they are chargeable to the profession of diplomacy, and the position in which Mal-

colm was placed, not to the character of the man; whilst, on the other hand, to the character of the man we are to attribute the fact that, in spite of his profession, and in spite of his position, there was so much manliness and straightforwardness, so much firmness and honesty, apparent in these very trying negotiations with a most contemptible Court.

Glad, indeed, was Malcolm when it was all over, and he had turned his back on the Persian capital.* But knowing the difficulties which he had encountered, he felt no common anxiety to learn that his efforts were approved by the Governor-General. From Hamadan, whence he despatched his public report of the conclusion of his labors, he wrote privately to Mr. Edmonstone on the same day:

Hamadan, February 20, 1801.—You will see by my public despatch of this date that I have brought my labors in this quarter to a close; whether with credit or not, it is the province of my superiors to judge. I can only say, in self-defence, that I have done *as much as I was able*, and no man can do more. I am far from admiring my own work, or considering it (as termed in one of the preambles) *a beautiful image in the mirror of perpetuity*. It is, on the contrary, I know, a very incorrect performance, and I can hope it to meet with a favorable consideration only on the grounds of the difficulties I had to encounter in a first negotiation with a Government not two stages removed from a state of barbarism.

I shall be in a state of suspense and anxiety until I know the Governor-General's sentiments, which I cannot expect before I reach Bombay. I beg you will write me the moment you can with certainty on this subject, and relieve me from my cares, or fears, if possible; if not, acquaint me with the causes of displeasure.

* For some interesting incidents connected with Malcolm's departure from Teheran, I would refer the reader to his *Sketches of Persia*—a work of which, in the belief that it has been extensively read, I have purposely made but little use in this chapter.

The motives which have guided my conduct in this Mission will be best seen in my journal, which I shall present at my return to his Lordship, not as a made-up, dressed paper, but as a faithful diary of my actions, which has little to recommend it but truth devoid of ornament. Such an account I not only thought would be more useful than any other, but also more in conformity to the instructions I received from his Lordship on that subject.

As I was obliged to hasten my departure from Teheran in order to bring my negotiations to a conclusion, and as I did not get the treaties till a few hours before I left that capital, I could make no translations of them till I reached Hamadan; and as I have hardly yet recovered my sight, which I entirely lost for several days by my journeys through the snow, I fear the translations are not so good as they should have been. The preambles are the most difficult papers I ever read. How often have they made me curse Meerza Reza Runt, the Moonshee-ul-Mamaluk, and all the tribe of Moustaphas, who, in defiance of reason and remonstrance, persisted in writing such bombastic nonsense. I *un*fortunately produced a copy of a late Indian treaty as a sample of that *simplicity* of style which was the best to use in engagements, though I allowed it was not elegantly written. The Meerza, after reading two articles, said he would give in his resignation to his sovereign before such a paper was copied into the records of the office over which he presided.

Two days afterwards he wrote to Colonel Kirkpatrick:*

Hamadan, Feb. 22, 1806.— . . . . Campbell shall join you as soon as possible. His going before me is out of the question, as I mean to post to Calcutta. Perhaps he may be a month later, as there are many points requiring arrangement that I cannot well trust to any other person. Of this you may rest assured,

* Colonel Kirkpatrick, when Malcolm left India, was Political Secretary to the Supreme Government, and Mr. Edmonstone was Persian Translator. But in January, 1801, the former was appointed Resident at Poonah, and the latter succeeded to the Political Secretaryship. These changes were, however, unknown to Malcolm when he wrote the letters in the text.

that we shall all be in Calcutta as soon as possible—none, probably, before June, and none, I hope, later than July.

I promised you two months' accounts from this, and I am ashamed to break my word. But what is to be done? The terrible march we have had through the snow has quite laid up Charles Pasley, who was ill when I left Teheran, and is now confined with a fever. Campbell has had all the arrangements of the march on his shoulders, as my eyes, the sight of which I lost for several days from the snow, with difficulty served me to finish the long despatches which I have sent by this packet to Lord Wellesley. I, however, enclose a memorandum which will enable you to judge pretty nearly the expenses of this Mission. They are, no doubt, large; but I hope the object accomplished will be considered adequate. If all my letters have reached you, I think your alarms respecting any invasion this season must have been sufficiently decreased to have prevented the annual expense on that score; and I trust that this will be equally the case in the next. And on that ground alone the heavy charges of this Mission may perhaps be met. I do not mean this as an excuse for my disbursements. Such must rest on different grounds. They have been made with a double view of answering temporary purposes, and of establishing, on the footing on which it ought to rest, the name and reputation of the British nation in a country, which so many events may hereafter connect with its interests, like that of Persia. How far the first object has been answered a few years will show. A longer date must explain the latter.

My journal, which is a plain paper written from day to day, is the best record I can give Lord Wellesley to enable him to form a decisive judgment of my conduct. Of my anxiety to know his sentiments, you who know my disposition can judge. My alarms on this subject arise from no want of confidence in his indulgence and liberality. It is a knowledge of the place I hold in his estimation, and the value I attach to that, which makes me fearful of forfeiting a good opinion of which I have hitherto had such cause to be proud. . . . . You may rest assured of two facts—one, that Zemaun Shah, if he preserves his kingdom, can alone do it by marching to this quarter; and the other, that the King of Persia will advance into Khorassan.

The apprehensions expressed in the letters to Edmonstone and Kirkpatrick were removed by communications which in course of time reached Malcolm from Calcutta. Among others who wrote to assure him that what he had done met with the hearty approbation of the Governor-General was Mr. Henry Wellesley, who had recently returned from a hasty visit to England, and who had now to tell not only what was said of Malcolm in Calcutta, but what was said of him also in London. The receipt of the following letters must have gladdened the heart of the returning Ambassador:

MR. HENRY WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Fort William, March 28, 1801.

My dear Malcolm,—You have so much reason to think me very negligent for not writing to you, that I shall not attempt to make any excuses for my silence, but trust to your generosity for forgiveness. You will be the less disposed to pardon me when I tell you that while I was in England I frequently heard Mr. Dundas, and other great men, speak of you in a manner which gave me great pleasure, and ought not to be less gratifying to you. Whenever you were the subject of conversation, I always determined to write to you the next day; but, as it usually happens in London, something always occurred to frustrate my good intentions. Having thus made *amende honorable*, I shall proceed to state to you that all *wise* people in England think that very satisfactory consequences are likely to result from your Embassy. There are not wanting some who are disposed to blame it, as tending to give umbrage to the Court of St. Petersburg; but these are of that description of person who never look at a measure but with the view of condemning it, and who, rather than not find fault with it, will attempt to combine interests "far as the poles asunder."

I am led to hope that this will find you at Bombay; and I am further gratified by hearing from my brother that he intends to summon you to the Presence. I shall then have it in my power to communicate to you in person all the handsome things which

I heard of you in England, and to thank you for my Arab horse, which, however, is better suited to your skill as a horseman than to mine.

I end my letter, as most people would have commenced theirs, by telling you that I arrived here on the 21st of February, after a very tedious passage of more than five months. Remember me to Strachey and to Pasley, and

Believe me, dear Malcolm,
Yours most sincerely,
HENRY WELLESLEY.

I forgot to mention that the Prince of Wales told me he should be delighted to receive, and should be much obliged to you for, any arms you may have it in your power to send him. When you send them you had better accompany them by a letter from yourself; or if that does not please you, address a letter to Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, his private secretary. I see no reason, however, why Baba Khan should not address a friendly letter to the Prince of Wales. According to Asiatic notions, I rather think the former is degraded by writing to the latter.

My brother, hearing I was writing to you, has this moment desired me to summon you to the Presence. This is really no joke. Pray come as soon as you can. My brother has also desired me to say that no time should be lost in retrenching the expenses of the Embassy.

MR. HENRY WELLESLEY TO CAPTAIN MALCOLM.

Barrackpore, May 19, 1801.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—Although I think it probable that this letter will cross you on your way to Calcutta, yet I cannot help writing to tell you that my brother highly approves of all your proceedings, and that he thinks you have conducted the whole of your negotiations in a very masterly manner. If the report be well founded of the Emperor Paul's intention to invade Hindostan through Persia, it is possible that your Embassy may be attended with more important consequences than we are yet aware of; and I should not be at all surprised if it were to be found expedient to send you back to the Court of Persia. I sincerely hope, how-

ever, that you may not again be obliged to traverse such inhospitable regions as those you have lately passed, particularly as I have reason to think that a career no less brilliant is open to you in India. You have probably heard that Colonel Kirkpatrick is seriously ill at Madras—so ill as to lead him to apprehend that a change of climate is absolutely necessary to his recovery. Should he be compelled to leave India on account of his health, the Residency at Poonah will be open, and I have reason to believe that you will either be appointed to that situation, or to some other equally creditable and advantageous—and that without loss of time.

I hope my assurances of my brother's entire approbation of your conduct will be sufficient, until he can express to you in person, and in terms more nearly adequate to the services you have rendered, his high sense of the important advantages resulting from your Embassy.

Ever, my dear Malcolm,

Most sincerely yours,

HENRY WELLESLEY.

On the 23rd of February the Mission left Hamadan, and proceeded on their homeward journey. Malcolm was the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General to the Pacha of Baghdad. They therefore struck off towards the Turkish frontier; and on the 15th of March they crossed the ill-defined boundary of the two countries. Friendly as was the object of their advance, they created some alarm in the mind of the Pacha. The large number of Persian attendants in the train of the English Ambassador excited the apprehensions of the Turkish chief, who dreaded a collision with his own people. So Malcolm halted on the banks of the Tigris, and there dismissed his Persian retainers. And he dismissed them with a display of generosity which crowned the reputation of the English for exceeding liberality and munificence. It was well to show that our gifts were not

confined to people high in place, from whom something was to be expected in return.*

In pursuance of the system which he had followed along the whole line of road, Malcolm, now that he found himself in the Turkish dominions, was eager to pay for his supplies; but the Pacha of Baghdad resisted with so much determination what seemed to him to be a reflection on his hospitality, that the Envoy was at last reluctantly compelled to allow the Embassy to be maintained at the expense of the State. In spite of a certain unaccountable timidity which the Pacha evinced,† it was plain that he was eager to embrace the British alliance. He regretted that he had not been brought as

* I give an account of this parting distribution of largesses in the words of Malcolm's journal: "I this day made arrangements to discharge my Persian servants, and various considerations induced me on this occasion to act in a most liberal manner, and to fix by this last step the most favorable impression of the English Government in the minds of the people of Persia. No means could so well tend to effect this object as kindness and generosity to my Persian servants. The treatment these had experienced in my camp was so different from that which they were accustomed to receive from their own countrymen, that I believe it had attached them to the service; and my behaving to them with even justice (when in a situation to be no longer dependent on their exertions) was what, agreeably to the common usages of their country, they could have no reason to expect. Liberality on such an occasion was calculated to excite both gratitude and astonishment in the individuals who were immediately benefited, and to show all others that the conduct I had pursued was consistent throughout. The place at which I discharged these followers also called for consideration—at a distance of nearly two months' journey from their home, and in the midst of the tombs of Imauns, to whom it was indispensable that they should all pay their devotions. Induced by the motives above stated, I ordered that a present of six months' pay should be given to all the head servants in camps, and three months' to all others. I also gave a horse apiece to the head servants and *jelwadaurs*. This last present was of less consequence, as the servants' horses were, from the fatigues they had encountered, so reduced as not to be worth thirty rupees each. To Meerza Aga Meer, my head Moonshee, who was a man of excellent family, who had conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner, and had been usefully and confidentially employed in forming the treaties, I made a present of an excellent horse and two thousand krosh."

† Besides the apprehensions which he displayed with respect to Malcolm's Persian retainers, he sent to request that when the Embassy entered Baghdad in state Malcolm would order his troops not to draw their swords. The English officer said it was impossible to give such an order as that; but that he might meet the difficulty by not ordering the men to draw swords.

a third party into the Persian treaty, and was willing to consent to all the conditions which we should have imposed upon him. The stay, however, of the Mission at Baghdad was but short; and the business was confined to a grand ceremonial visit,* the delivery of the Governor-General's letter, and the presentation of the usual rich gifts and astonishing curiosities.

On the 31st of March, the Mission quitted Baghdad,* dropping down the Tigris in a vessel which the Pacha had placed at the Envoy's disposal. On the 8th of April, near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, Malcolm was met by the state barge of the Governor of Baghdad, and that also of the Company's Agent. Accepting the accommodation of the latter, he proceeded to Mr. Manesty's country house; and on the following day sent his heavy baggage on board the *Governor Duncan*, which had been waiting at Bussorah for his reception. Having exchanged visits with the chief officers of the place, and distributed more presents, he embarked on the 14th for Bushire.

After a brief detention at Karrak, into which he was driven by stress of weather, he reached Bushire on the 22nd; and having spent two days there, re-embarked for Bombay. Adverse winds, and want of water, drove him into Muscat; and after putting out again to sea, a violent gale, rendered formidable by the leaky state of the vessel and the inefficiency of the crew, placed him for some time in real jeopardy; but he finally reached Bombay in safety on the 13th of May, very grateful for his preservation.

* Mr. (afterwards Sir Harford) Jones was at this time resident at Baghdad; and Malcolm here first made his acquaintance.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRIVATE SECRETARYSHIP.

[1801—1803.]

DANGEROUS VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA—DEPARTURE FOR THE UPPER PROVINCES—INTERCOURSE WITH LORD WELLESLEY—THE RIVER VOYAGE—LETTERS TO MR. BARLOW—CONFIDENTIAL MISSION TO MADRAS—RETURN TO BENGAL—DEATH OF THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR—MISSION TO BOMBAY—JOURNEY ACROSS THE PENINSULA — DEALINGS WITH THE PERSIANS — RETURN TO CALCUTTA — APPOINTMENT TO THE MYSORE RESIDENCY.

It was, in all probability, at Bombay that Malcolm received the letters from Henry Wellesley which summoned him to "the Presence." He lost no time, therefore, in embarking for Calcutta. But here again, as on the voyage from Bussorah, he encountered violent gales, which dismasted and well-nigh sunk the vessel in which he had taken his passage. The danger, however, imminent as it was, was surmounted, and early in July he arrived in Calcutta to give the following account of past perils and brilliant prospects to the venerable parent whose declining years he was doing so much to comfort and support :

TO HIS FATHER.

Calcutta, July 10, 1801.

My dear Father,—You will hear with pleasure of my arrival at Calcutta, after running some imminent risks in my passage

from Persia, but particularly in my last voyage from Madras to this place. We had a very violent gale of wind. The ship lost all her masts, had three feet water in her hold, and all her pumps choked. When we had least reason to expect it the gale abated; and soon after a vessel hove in sight that towed us into the river. An escape so providential made me return thanks with a heart full of gratitude to my Creator.

You will learn with pleasure that Marquis Wellesley has honored my conduct in Persia with his most unqualified approbation, and has assured me, that the moment the rains will admit of my travelling, I shall either be nominated to Poonah or some other Residency equal to it both in rank and emolument. In the interim, the Marquis has appointed me acting Private Secretary in the absence of his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley—a nomination at once honorable and flattering in the extreme. To these marks of distinction from the Governor-General, when I add the attentions I receive from all ranks at Calcutta, I am convinced you will wish me a great share of humility to bear my prosperity with a good grace. I consider it all as a reward for past, and an inducement to future, exertion; and I enjoy my good fortune most when I contemplate the fair prospect it gives me of returning in a few years to spend the remainder of my days with those I love.

I have again written Mr. Pasley about Langlands. If he purchases it, he will make it over, in the same manner as I desired Douglan should be done, to you and my mother. If he does not get it, he will pay out of the remittances I have made 200*l.* per annum, from the date of the last bills I sent to my mother and sisters.* . . . . .

Your affectionate son,
JOHN MALCOLM.

Great, indeed, were the pride and the delight with which the family at Burnfoot, and above all its vene-

* In a letter, under date April 5, 1800, Mr. John Pasley writes to Malcolm: "I will treat with Mr. Johnstone for the purchase of Douglan, as I find the family are anxious to have that property. It will amuse your father to build a house at Douglan. If any accident should happen to him, it will receive the family, as they would lose Burnfoot." For some reason or other, with which I am not acquainted, the purchase of Douglan was never carried out.

rable chief, were watching John's brilliant progress in the East. "The account of your employments," wrote Mr. Malcolm to his son, "is like fairy tales to us." To all the members of that beloved circle John's success was a source of continually increasing comfort of the most substantial kind; and his generosity was appreciated from the very core of the heart. "Your filial effusions," wrote his father, "brought tears of joy to the eyes of your parents. A good head will gain you the esteem and applause of the world, but a good heart alone gives happiness to the owner of it. It is a continual feast."

But these are home-scenes, at which it is permitted to the biographer only to glance. Malcolm is still with the harness on his back. His career is one which admits of no pause, and gives little time for family correspondence. He has been summoned to Calcutta—there to be placed at the right hand of the Governor-General, as his confidential minister and friend, in the chair recently occupied by Lord Wellesley's own brother. A higher compliment could not be paid to him in such stirring times.

There were many great questions then pressing forward—many great events taking shape in the womb of Time: but the affairs of Oude were engaging the immediate attention of the Governor-General. There are States, as there are individuals, which defy the pressure of a complication of disorders, any one of which would seem to be sufficient to bring them to the brink of dissolution. The unhappy country of the Nabob-Wuzeer, which has for upwards of half a century been in a state of mortal convulsion, even then presented itself to us as what modern diplomacy calls "a sick man," to put an end to whose sufferings is only a work of mercy. The remedy which was to be tried by Lord Wellesley was merely the amputation of a limb. It was

proposed, that instead of the annual subsidy paid for the support of the troops posted, according to treaty, in the Oude dominions, a certain tract of country, yielding a million and a quarter sterling, should be ceded in perpetuity to the Company. To negotiate this cession, in conjunction with the Resident, Colonel Scott, Mr. Henry Wellesley had been despatched to Lucknow; and when Captain John Malcolm took his place, as Private Secretary to the Governor-General, preparations were in progress for the journey of Lord Wellesley and his Staff by water to Upper India, mainly for the purpose of visiting in person the Court of the Newab-Wuzeer.

To Malcolm, who had never visited Northern India, the movement of the vice-regal circle was a source of no common satisfaction. They were to ascend the river in a fleet of boats—the Governor-General's yacht, the *Soonamookee*, at their head—and visit all the principal stations on their route. On the 15th of August they embarked at Chandpaul Ghaut. The ascent of the river is always tedious. At this season of the year the stream, fed by the periodical rains, offers a powerful resistance to the rower, whilst the wind, uncertain in itself, is rendered doubly so by the windings of the river. But Malcolm made continual progress with his work, whatever he may have done with his journey. He had much to say and much to do. Neither tongue nor pen was idle. It was his business, as it was his pleasure, at this time, to communicate to the Governor-General all the experiences of his Persian travel and his Persian diplomacy—to answer many questions which were put to him, and clear away, by explanation and illustration, any doubts and obscurities which might before have existed in the minds of Lord Wellesley or his Secretaries. It was during the early part of this river-voyage that Lord Wellesley wrote to the Secret Committee a

long letter, justifying the despatch of the Mission to Persia,* which the Company considered to be an unnecessary and inexpedient movement; and bearing strong testimony in favor of the personal conduct of the Ambassador. It was Malcolm's duty also, at this time, to be the immediate medium of communication between the Governor-General and the President in Council at Calcutta and the heads of the minor governments on all points of a personal character. And it will presently be seen in what delicate negotiations he was employed, not only as a mere channel of communication, or literal interpreter of the views of the Governor-General, but as his immediate personal agent with large discretionary powers.

And there was other occupation for him at this time than the actual business of his office. Malcolm was not one to consider time spent in active exercise and healthful recreation as time thrown away. He had heard that he was likely to find game on the river banks, and in Bengal we may be sure that he was eager to encounter the nobler game for which that province is celebrated, even in the minds of the commonalty of England. And it was not long before he was engaged in one of the most remarkable tiger-hunts which India has seen since our first occupation of the country—for Lord Wellesley himself was an active participator in it. In the following passages of Malcolm's correspondence with Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Barlow, who was Chief Secretary when Lord Wellesley left Calcutta,† but afterwards succeeded to a seat in Council and the Vice-Presidential

* It is dated Monghyr, September 28, 1801. Some portions of this letter will be found in the Appendix.

† When Lord Wellesley left Calcutta, Mr. Speke, who had been in Council ever since 1789, was sworn in as Vice-President in Council. But in April, 1801, the Court of Directors appointed a new Council, consisting of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Udney. The former took his seat as senior member in 1801, in place of Mr. Speke, and was accordingly sworn in as Vice-President in Council.

chair, the principal events of the river-voyage to Allahabad are narrated, an account of the great tiger-hunt being given in the first extract:

September 13, 1801.—You used to write I might meet with game. I have had noble sport yesterday and to-day. Yesterday, after shooting six brace of black partridges, information was brought that three Bengal tigers were lodged in a tree at the distance of six miles from the tent. A party of us, four in number, immediately armed ourselves and started in quest of the noble game, and after *an action* of four hours, not very desperate, but sufficiently dangerous to be interesting, we returned, after having killed two enormous tigers—the smallest of which was eight feet long—with the resolution of renewing the combat against the third, next morning. You will be surprised to hear that the Marquis was so animated by our victory and the sight of the slain, that he determined to accompany us in our attack on the only remaining enemy. We set out early this morning, and, after an action which, from a fortunate shot, was more barren of incident than that of the preceding evening, we slew the last of the party, which proved to be a most beautiful tigress. I need not add that Lord Wellesley was delighted with the novelty of the sport. He (in spite of remonstrances) advanced as near as any person, and fired eight or ten rounds at the animal when seated on the cleft of the tree.

Our attack was made from boats, and there fortunately happened to be a slip of deep water on the side on which we were, that obliged the first tiger we wounded to swim when he came towards us. On all other quarters there was so little water, that we found the second tiger, who returned from the tree towards another, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, moved much quicker than we could run in a small boat.

I was a great advocate against the Governor-General's going on such a party. I am happy, now it is over, that he went, because he is much gratified, and the sight was altogether novel and grand. But I hope this success will not lead him into any more such adventures, which you will no doubt think with me are more calculated for his aides-de-camp and secretaries.

The joy shown by the villagers at the destruction of these ani-

mals, who have been their dread for several days past, is not to be expressed. They told us that they had killed four bullocks the night before last, and that they daily expected they would kill some of the inhabitants, who could not muster a sufficient armed party to attack them at once.

We have had a contrary wind for two days; but this moment a favorable breeze has sprung up, and if it holds to-morrow we shall reach Colgong.

Two miles from Patna, October 3.—You will rejoice to hear that our progress from Monghyr has been so unexpectedly rapid. This is only the Monday since we sailed, and we are close to the city of Patna. Nothing can be pleasanter than our voyage has hitherto been. The weather within these few days has been hot; but we are told we may expect the cold weather in a fortnight. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the country through which we have lately passed. I never saw, in any part of the world, so much cultivation, or such a general appearance of comfort and happiness among the lower classes as I have in this voyage. Before you receive this, you will have taken your seat as Vice-President—an event upon which I offer you my sincerest congratulations. I rejoice on your account, but I rejoice more on account of the public, the interests of which I consider to be most essentially promoted by your succession to that distinguished station.

Benares, November 14.—We have, since you left us, passed through one of the finest and most highly cultivated tracts of country in the world. What adds to my pleasure in contemplating these scenes, is to hear every man I ask tell how jungles have been cleared, and waste plains brought into cultivation. I cannot but envy your feelings upon this subject. I confess, before I travelled through your provinces, I was not perfectly reconciled to your system. I have now observed its effects, and must ever think it one of the most wise and benevolent plans that ever was conceived by a Government to render its subjects rich and comfortable. We can only hope that a sense of gratitude will be the primary feeling in the breast of those who benefit by this admirable system, and that they will repay the State for the care it takes of their interests by a firm and lasting attachment.

Benares, November 21.—I enclose, by desire of his Excellency

the Governor-General, a letter from Lord Clive, by which you will observe that his Lordship has resolved to proceed to Europe by one of the earliest ships of the season. Lord Wellesley relies on your making every necessary arrangement with respect to a ship for the conveyance of Lord Clive. It only remains on this subject to inform you that Lord Clive, in a private letter, has expressed his desire to have the *Charlton* (Captain Cumberledge) reserved for his accommodation; and it will afford his Excellency great pleasure if you are able to make an arrangement in this instance agreeable to the wish which Lord Clive has expressed. His Excellency requests you will correspond with Lord Clive upon this subject, and attend, as far as you are able, to any suggestion his Lordship may make, as you can readily believe Lord Wellesley is most anxious to contribute, as far as is in his power, to Lord Clive's comfort and convenience. You will conceive better than I can express, how his Excellency feels upon the circumstances that render this intimation necessary. Your friend Mr. Webbe has acted in the delicate and painful situation in which he has been placed with a spirit of honor and virtue that raises his character higher than ever, and which must ensure his triumph over his wicked enemies.

Allahabad, December 19.—Lord Wellesley having judged it expedient that I should proceed to Madras to make some communications on the part of his Excellency to Lord Clive—and as the early period fixed for Lord Clive's departure for England makes it necessary that I should use every possible expedition—Lord Wellesley has directed me to request you will take measures to secure me a passage to Madras. If the *Charlton* has not sailed, it would, perhaps, be best to detain that vessel a day or two for the purpose; and in the event of the *Charlton* having left the river, and no other good vessel being on the point of sailing, his Lordship thinks the object of my reaching Madras at an early period of sufficient consequence to send the *Mornington* cruiser with me. On this head his Excellency is assured you will make an arrangement that will prevent delay. I expect to leave this on the 23rd, or at furthest the 24th, and shall be, as I go dawk, at Calcutta on the 1st or 2nd of January. As I have no business there except to communicate with you on the causes of my trip, I can leave Calcutta with convenience in four or five hours after I reach it, if

the vessel is ready to sail. I have written to the postmaster at Benares to have the Company's bearers ready for me: I beg you will condescend to give directions to the post-office at Calcutta to prevent the possibility of detention, from any traveller proceeding up the country at the period I am coming down.

There are passages in these letters which require explanation. Lord Clive had determined to return to England in the cold season of 1801-2; but as Lord Wellesley was journeying up the country, intelligence reached him, in a private but authentic shape, from England, which made him consider it a matter of much public importance that his colleague at Madras should postpone his departure. The intimation was, that the Court of Directors were about to order some important changes to be made in the constitution of the local government of the Coast. Mr. Fallofield, one of the members of Council, was to be superseded by Mr. Dick; Mr. Webbe, who had long been performing, with remarkable ability, the duties of Chief Secretary—a man of vast knowledge and incorruptible integrity—was to be removed from his office to make room for Mr. Chamier, who was coming out from England as the nominee of the Court, with a provisional appointment also to Council; and Mr. Oakes, under similar orders from the India House, was to take the place of Mr. Cockburn at the Revenue Board. These appointments, which were in effect a direct practical censure upon Lord Clive's Government, were in many respects of a very embarrassing and injurious character. They interfered—and were perhaps intended to interfere—with the extension of that general system of internal administration which Lord Cornwallis had introduced, and which Lord Wellesley had unreservedly adopted.

It seemed to the latter almost a necessary consequence of these orders from home that Mr. Webbe and Mr.

Cockburn would accompany or follow Lord Clive to England; and that the government of the Coast would thus be delivered over to the hands of men under whom there was little chance of the new revenue and judicial Regulations being brought into speedy and effectual operation in the provinces of Madras. Great difficulty in extending these Regulations to the Southern Presidency had always resulted from the want of a man qualified to carry out all the executive details. At one time, indeed, Lord Wellesley had contemplated the despatch of a Bengal civilian* to Madras, charged with the duty of giving effect to the Regulations in the latter Presidency. But that intention had been abandoned; and full confidence reposed in the ability of Mr. Cockburn, as an experienced and competent revenue officer, to plant the Permanent Settlement in Madras. Of the good effects of this system Lord Wellesley had seen the most gratifying evidences on his journey to the northern provinces; and he was now more than ever convinced that it was his duty to lose no further time in extending its benefits to the South.

To retain Mr. Cockburn in India was therefore a point of very great importance. To retain Mr. Webbe was a matter of still greater importance. For the latter gentleman had for some time been the very right hand of the Madras Government. At this time no successor to Lord Clive had been appointed. In the event of his departure, therefore, the Government would have devolved upon Mr. Petrie, in whose desire to conduct the administration upon the principles upheld by Lord Wellesley his Lordship had no confidence. To retain Mr. Webbe as the chief ministerial officer of the provisional or the new Governor, seemed, therefore,

* Mr. H. St. George Tucker.

essential to the furtherance of the Governor-General's measures. He had just completed, with remarkable address, the settlement of the Carnatic; and it was essential that he should remain on the spot "to carry into effect the orders of the Governor-General for the introduction of an improved system of judicature and revenue in the territories subject to Fort St. George."* To him and to Mr. Cockburn Lord Wellesley looked as the agents of his domestic policy in Madras, and he believed that without their aid that Presidency would be engulphed in ruin.

The orders of the Court of Directors filled Lord Wellesley with indignation. But he resolved to proceed in this matter with temper and with caution. It was an emergency in which he could have consulted no one so fitly or so advantageously as Malcolm; for no one about the person of the Governor-General was so well acquainted with all the members of the Madras Government, and the feelings by which they were likely to be actuated in such a crisis as this. So with his Private Secretary Lord Wellesley took frequent counsel. Many were the conversations held between them; and many the joint memoranda, which grew under their pens, on those half-margin sheets of foolscap which statesmen and authors find so convenient for purposes of correction and expansion. Many were the expedients which were hit upon, and the arrangements which were prospectively made. There were great interests at stake; and both Lord Wellesley and Malcolm were prepared to make great sacrifices. To the former it was a sacrifice of feeling—not the least difficult of sacrifices to men of high spirit and quick temper. To the latter it was an immediate sacrifice of personal interests—a sacrifice of

* *MS. notes of Lord Wellesley.*

that diplomatic promotion which had long been the object of his honorable ambition.

The Residency of Mysore was about to be vacated. Colonel Kirkpatrick, the Resident at Poonah, was about to return to Europe; and Colonel Close, the Resident at Mysore, had been nominated to the Mahratta capital in his place. To him in turn Malcolm was to succeed. It was one of the best appointments in the service; and as at that time Lord Wellesley had determined, at no distant period, to retire from the Government of India, it seemed essential to Malcolm's welfare that provision should be made for him. The appointment was ostensibly in the gift of the Madras Governor; but these high diplomatic offices were always conferred upon the recommendation of the Governor-General. Already had Lord Clive signified in writing to Malcolm the pleasure he would feel in appointing him to the Mysore Residency;* and already had Malcolm intimated to his friends at

* I give the letter itself in a note, principally for the sake of the graceful allusion it contains to the circumstances, referred to in a previous chapter, under which Malcolm had been superseded in the Town-Majorship of Madras:

LORD CLIVE TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

"Government House, Madras, Sept. 6, 1801.

"My dear Sir,—The intimation in your letter of the 8th ultimo, of its being the intention of Lord Wellesley to suggest your name to me as successor to Colonel Close in the Residency of Mysore, accompanied by your wish of being appointed to that situation, is particularly grateful to my feelings. Although you were convinced that the reverse of indisposition towards you prevailed in my mind at the time when the appointment of our poor friend Grant to be Town-Major of Fort St. George opened a different and more splendid career for the employment of your activity and talents; and although the extended scenes in which you have since acted, and the important stations you have filled, must have made the loss of the former situation at least no subject of regret, I have not been the less anxious to possess the means of manifesting the high estimation in which I hold your public services, and the sentiments of private regard which I entertain for you; and shall accordingly embrace the suggestion of Lord Wellesley with the same approbation and cordiality as if the selection had originated from myself.

"I remain, dear Sir, with the greatest regard and esteem, your faithful servant,

"Clive."

home the certainty of his immediate succession to the office. But now the public interests seemed to require that the appointment should be held in reserve, to be conferred on Mr. Webbe or Mr. Cockburn, as an inducement to retain one or other of those gentlemen in the country. And Malcolm was not one to desire for a moment to place his own interests in competition with those of the public service.

But willing as were these two men to sacrifice their feelings and their interests, the task which now lay before them was one of equal delicacy and difficulty. It was expedient above all things that no time should be lost in communicating with the Madras statesmen; and yet the work was one which could be but imperfectly performed by epistolary correspondence. To despatch Malcolm at once to Madras seemed to be the best—nay, the only means of extricating the Government of that Presidency from the embarrassments which had arisen; but he was then far up the country—he had some hundreds of miles to travel by land and sea before he could personally take part in the troubled politics of Fort St. George. He at once, however, prepared himself for the journey. In the mean while, letters must be written to Madras. It happened that one of Lord Wellesley's oldest and most esteemed fellow-councillors, Colonel Kirkpatrick, was then at the Southern Presidency. Much was expected from his co-operation. So Malcolm, under the Governor-General's instructions, first of all addressed a secret and confidential letter to that officer, in which a rough outline was given of the course which it seemed expedient to pursue, and reference made to the effect which the arrangement would have on the writer's own situation:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO COLONEL KIRKPATRICK.*

My dear Colonel,—I am directed by Lord Wellesley to make a communication to you of the most private nature, in order that you may mention it in the strictest confidence to Lord Clive and Mr. Webbe—the persons who are most concerned in having the earliest intimation on the subject.

Lord Wellesley has received private accounts, which he cannot but consider as authentic, that it is in agitation to make great changes in the Government of Madras—that it is probable Mr. Dick or Mr. Oakes, or both, will be appointed to Council at that Presidency—and that the Court of Directors, acting solely and declaredly upon the ground of private information and clamor, have it in contemplation to remove Mr. Webbe from his office of Secretary, which they hope to prevail upon Mr. Chamier to accept [under a direct nomination from themselves], by appointing him at the same time to succeed to the first vacant seat in Council.

Such are the outlines of this arrangement, which has, as you may imagine, filled Lord Wellesley's mind with indignation. He feels, however, that he may be constrained, by his great and various duties, from acting in the manner his feelings would prompt, upon its adoption. His conduct upon this, as upon other almost equally trying occasions, must be regulated by that temper and dignity which he no less owes to his own elevated character than to the interests of his country.

It is a delicate and a painful task to offer advice to Lord Clive upon this subject, and yet to remain wholly silent would be, in Lord Wellesley's opinion, to betray a want of interest in his situation which would be inexcusable.

If this arrangement is positively ordered to be carried into execution, Lord Wellesley thinks it would not be prudent even to delay; and it is obvious that Lord Clive's situation under so extraordinary a change would be most unpleasant, and nothing but the sense his Lordship might entertain of his duty to the public could perhaps conquer his [just] feelings so much as to incline him to remain as Governor of Fort St. George even for a limited period.

* My copy of this letter (the original draft) is without date. The passages printed in brackets [ ] are interpolations in Lord Wellesley's handwriting.

With respect to Mr. Webbe, his Lordship wishes him to be informed, that as he has hitherto had his Lordship's approbation, he shall [on public grounds, while he shall continue to pursue the same course of diligence, public zeal, and honor] always meet with Lord Wellesley's fullest and most unreserved support; and though he must be sensible that his Lordship cannot uphold him in his present station against the express orders of the Court of Directors, he may rest assured that he will ever find Lord Wellesley disposed, both in India and Europe, to treat him as a man who, from distinguished ability, [extensive knowledge,] and proved integrity, merits his utmost regard and confidence.

In conversing with his Lordship, it occurred that there were three lines of conduct for Mr. Webbe to adopt, each of which has its difficulties, but one of which must be followed—either to accept the Residency of Mysore; to resign before the orders arrive; or to brave the storm, and to retire indignantly to claim that justice which he has not met with in the present instance from his superiors.

The Residency of Mysore is still open, as Lord Wellesley has not yet formally suggested my name by a letter from himself to Lord Clive. Independently of many reasons, arising out of the late despatches from England, which might make it desirable to appoint a person in the Civil Service to succeed Colonel Close in that station, Mr. Webbe may be assured, that were I in every way eligible to the station, and were it likely my appointment would be confirmed by the Court of Directors, I should be much more happy at my interests being sacrificed than by seeing any attention to them interrupt an arrangement so necessary as the present. As Resident of Mysore, Mr. Webbe would be placed in a station where he could at least remain with comfort, till his circumstances enabled him to return to Europe.

His resigning immediately would, under many points of view, appear objectionable; and if he had no other information on this subject than what is conveyed in this letter, such a step would be impossible, as it must be stipulated, as a condition of that confidence in which this communication is made, that no step whatever is to be taken upon it [nor the communication at any time revealed to a third person].

The meeting the whole affair boldly, and retiring as a person who considered himself deeply wronged, must depend so much

upon feeling and circumstances of a private nature, that it is impossible to give any advice upon the subject; and the making an appeal against the justice of the proceeding would, perhaps, be attended with little effect, as that appeal must of necessity be made to those by whom the injustice was committed, and with whom it would appear neither virtue nor talent are ever likely to obtain much credit.

I know, my dear Colonel, that you will feel this arrangement most severely in many respects—and in none more than as it affects me. This you must explain, particularly to Mr. John Pasley and my other friends, as they are under an impression, from letters which I cannot now recall, that I am actually fixed as Resident at Mysore. Assure them that I consider my interests as little affected by the circumstances that have occurred, and that I continue to preserve—what Mr. Pasley knows has ever been my primary object—Lord Wellesley's favor and confidence.

I am, my dear Colonel, yours ever most sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Malcolm made all speed to Calcutta, and then took ship for Madras. On the morning of the 26th* of January he landed, and, having reported his arrival to Lord Clive, at once entered into council with Mr. Webbe and Colonel Kirkpatrick. All his apprehensions were abundantly confirmed. Mr. Chamier had arrived with his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship in his pocket. Mr. Cockburn had been superseded at the Board of Revenue, and had determined to return to England. This Mr. Webbe declared to be "an insuperable obstacle to the immediate introduction of the Regulations, as that gentleman (Mr. Cockburn) was alone competent to the task, and his successors at the Board of Revenue were

* "26th. Landed at Madras. After breakfast, I requested Lord Clive would be so indulgent as to permit me to read my despatches from Bengal, and to sort my papers, that I might be fully prepared to communicate next morning all I had to say to his Lordship on the part of his Excellency the Governor-General. By this I gained sufficient time to discuss with Mr. Webbe and Colonel Kirkpatrick the question of Lord Clive's remaining in India till next season."—[*Malcolm's MS. Journal.*]

avowedly hostile to the measure."* It was his opinion, and also Colonel Kirkpatrick's, that any delay in carrying the Regulations into effect "threatened nothing less than a total discomfiture of that measure, against which there was a great party both at Madras and in Leadenhall-street." How then was all this threatened evil to be averted? Regardful rather of the public interests than his own feelings, Mr. Webbe consented to remain in India. But he expressed his conviction that he could do little good under the Government of Mr. Petrie. The next step, therefore, was to induce Lord Clive to forego his intention of immediately returning to England; and this accomplished, to make an appeal to the public spirit of Mr. Cockburn.

On the following morning, therefore, Malcolm waited upon the Governor, and stated clearly and explicitly what were the opinions and feelings of Lord Wellesley. The result of the interview he immediately communicated to the Governor-General in the following letter, which, encumbered as it is with "Lordships" and "Excellencys," clearly states the progress of his negotiations:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO LORD WELLESLEY.

My Lord,—I have the honor of informing your Excellency of my arrival at this place on the 26th instant, and that there is every probability of being able to commence my journey to Bengal by land in a few days, after having accomplished the objects for which your Excellency sent me to this quarter.

The point of most importance which first called for consideration was whether circumstances of the moment demanded that I should express to Lord Clive your Excellency's wish that he should remain in India another season or not. This consideration was connected with the object of keeping Mr. Cockburn and Mr. Webbe at Madras, as the former was resolved to go home, and the

* *Malcolm's MS. Journal.*

latter, of course, to assume his station at Mysore, in the event of Lord Clive's departure.

After the most serious discussion of this point with Mr. Webbe and Colonel Kirkpatrick, it was our decided opinion that it was, under the circumstances of the moment, not only most accordant with the sentiments which your Lordship entertained and expressed on this question, but indispensable to the security of the public interests, that Lord Clive should postpone his departure for Europe until October.

In consequence of this opinion, I communicated your Lordship's sentiments on the late conduct of the Court of Directors to Lord Clive, informing him at the same time of the resolutions that conduct had induced your Excellency to take, and of your determination to meet in the fullest and most decided manner the important questions respecting the Government of India which the conduct of the Court of Directors were to bring into agitation. I also informed his Lordship that your Excellency had desired me to express your hope that, notwithstanding the injury which his Lordship's feelings had sustained, a further consideration of the actual state of public affairs, united with the communications with which I was entrusted by your Excellency, would induce his Lordship to suspend the resolution which, with your Excellency's concurrence, he had formed of returning to England. I explained, at the time I intimated this hope to his Lordship, your Excellency's just sense of the motives which had induced his Lordship to resign the Government of Madras, and added, as a proof of this, that it was your Excellency's opinion that his Lordship should express his unalterable resolution to retire, by the same despatch that informed the Court of Directors of his having protracted his departure for a limited period at the solicitation of your Excellency.

Lord Clive replied, that the conduct which your Excellency had observed towards him was such as compelled him to consider your Excellency's wishes as commands. He, therefore, could have no hesitation in complying with your Excellency's request in the present instance, and should have a pride in the continuance of his exertions to promote the success of your Excellency's administration.

I shall to-morrow more particularly detail the circumstances which have led to this arrangement, and the benefits which may

be expected to result from its adoption; and rest satisfied with expressing my fullest conviction that your Excellency may, under its operation, depend upon receiving the fullest co-operation and support from Lord Clive's Government during the remaining period of its existence.

I am, &c., &c.,
JOHN MALCOLM.

The great object of Malcolm's mission to Madras was thus gained. Lord Clive had consented to remain at his post until the end of the year.* But it was not so easy to induce Mr. Cockburn to forego his intention of returning to England. After leaving Government House on the 27th of January, Malcolm tried all his arts of persuasion upon that gentleman. But his charmings were of no avail. All that Mr. Cockburn could promise was, that he would give the matter his fullest consideration, and return a definite answer on the morrow. The morrow came; and he sent a brief note to Malcolm, declaring that, after the most deliberate reflection, he could recognise only the absolute necessity of continuing firm in his first resolution.

Still, with Lord Clive at the head of the Government, and Mr. Webbe at his right hand,† it was felt that much might be accomplished, even without Mr. Cockburn's

* In his second letter to Lord Wellesley, Malcolm says: "The known disposition of some of the members of the Council, joined to the characters of the expected members of the Board of Revenue, made it almost certain that if Lord Clive and Mr. Cockburn returned to England, and Mr. Webbe went to Mysore, the important object of introducing the Regulations for the improved revenue and judicial system would not be accomplished during the period of your Excellency's administration; whilst on the other hand no doubt could be entertained that, if Lord Clive remained, the Permanent Settlement would be made within the year in so great a proportion of the territories of Fort St. George, that the final execution of this important measure will be effectually secured upon the principles directed by your Excellency."

† Mr. Webbe was to be appointed Resident at Mysore; but it was not necessary that he should join the appointment, though he drew its allowances. It was suggested by Lord Wellesley that Lord Clive should detain him on special duty at the Presidency, to form the Permanent Settlement and introduce the Regulations.

aid. And Malcolm now prepared to return to Bengal, satisfied with the present aspect of affairs, and hopeful of the future. He had earned by his conduct the increased good-will and respect of all with whom these delicate negotiations had brought him into contact; and he carried with him the hearty wishes of all for the continued prosperity of his career.

When Malcolm reached Calcutta, he found that Lord Wellesley, after the conclusion of his business at Lucknow, was returning by water to the Presidency. So he made good speed to meet the vice-regal party; pushed up the country with the least possible delay by dawk; and early in the month of March was again at the elbow of the Governor-General. All his proceedings at Madras met with unqualified approbation; and he returned to his old situation of Private Secretary in the enjoyment of the increased confidence of his chief.

The records of the voyage down the river supply but little incident. On the 18th of March the Governor-General's party were at Buxar.* On the 23rd they reached Patna, where they were detained for three days

* In one of Malcolm's letters from Buxar (to Mr. Barlow), there is a passage which reads curiously at the present time:

"*Buxar, March* 18, 1802.—There are no letters from England, and the papers, which are as late as the 29th of October, contain little news that we have not before heard. The meeting of Parliament is the most important article, and the likelihood of great division in the House of Commons on the subject of peace. I confess I have little hopes of its permanence if it does take place; for nothing can be more clear than that Bonaparte, from his conduct towards the Porte, has not lost sight of his favorite object of aggrandising France at the expense of that weak Government; and the change of Ministry at Petersburg, combined with some parts of the conduct of Russia (as stated by Lord Elgin), rather inclines me to conclude that he has succeeded in persuading the Emperor that his interests will be advanced by joining with France in her designs on Turkey. There cannot be a doubt but the rulers of France will make every exertion after the peace to diminish the commercial greatness of Great Britain. Among other means, I am, and always have been, convinced they will encourage Russia to extend her Asiatic dominions, not more with a view of ultimate effect on the British Empire in India, than with the immediate object of dissolving those bands that have hitherto (with an exception of a late rupture) always united Russia and Great Britain."

by contrary winds. On the 30th they left Monghyr; and on the 4th of April were at Boghwangolah, where they were joined by Colonel Monson, who was to be entrusted with important despatches for England. From Boghwangolah Malcolm wrote, to Mr. Barlow that it was not Lord Wellesley's wish that any of the officers of Government should come higher than Barrackpore to meet him; and that he purposed to spend five or six days at that place before returning to business at Calcutta.

The various experiences of John Malcolm were now to be augmented by the trial of a hot season in Calcutta. It does not seem to have reduced his spirits or diminished his energies. He was a general favorite with men of all classes and all ages. There are cotemporary letters extant which speak of him as "Lord Wellesley's factotum, and the greatest man in Calcutta"*—but abundantly testify to his unpretending kindliness of heart. His own correspondence, at this time, relates principally to affairs of State. The accounts which he received from Madras assured him of the success of his diplomacy—success in which he rejoiced all the more when he thought of the many evidences which he had seen in

* The following was written at the beginning of 1803, by Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) James Young, of the artillery, one of the ablest men whom India has ever seen:

"*Calcutta, Feb.* 9, 1803.—Tell my father—indeed, tell every member of the family—what I am now about to write of Major Malcolm. About this time last year he arrived here from Madras, where he had been sent to prevent Lord Clive from departing to Europe. He sent for me to see him, and told me in the most sincere and friendly manner his intention to befriend me; and among other words made use of these remarkable ones: 'My old father has asked me to befriend you, Young. Anything that he wishes is a *firman*, which I put on my head as a Turk does the Grand Seigneur's, and which I will obey at all hazards.' Since then I have frequently been at Major Malcolm's house, in the short intervals he remained at Calcutta. . . . . He has treated me in the kindest and most affectionate manner—this, too, when he was Lord Wellesley's factotum, and the *greatest* man in Calcutta. . . . . I mention this that you may all, with one voice, thank the old gentleman, and delight his heart with hearing of his son's filial piety and kindness to me."

Bengal of the good results of the Cornwallis Regulations. Writing to Lord Hobart, he said, after dwelling upon the increased prosperity of the people under British rule:

"This effect is solely to be ascribed to the happy operation of Lord Cornwallis's system of revenue and judicature, which has in a very few years changed the whole appearance of the countries and inhabitants subject to the British power in that quarter in a manner which, to be believed, must be seen. This system is not less calculated to improve the state of the country and the condition of the inhabitants than to fix upon the firmest basis the British Government in India, by securing the attachment of their subjects, and to give, from the obvious principles of justice and moderation on which it is founded, the most favorable impression of the English Government to all the nations of India. Your Lordship will be happy to hear that the system is actually introduced into several districts on the Coast, and that it will soon be established over all our provinces in the Peninsula. From it alone can we expect an end to the constant rebellions among the Polygars and other troublesome inhabitants of the mountainous parts of the territories under the Government of Fort St. George; and from it alone can we expect that the more valuable tracts of level country subject to that Government will recover from that state into which they have been thrown by a system of rule which existed on the insecure basis of individual honor and individual ability, and which acknowledged no principles but those of expediency, and knew no laws but those of necessity. Your Lordship will have heard from Mr. Webbe of my late journey to Madras, and you will be happy to learn from the same quarter of the many benefits which have and are likely to result from the measures which Lord Wellesley took to prevent an abrupt change in that Government. Of the effect which that change would have produced no person can judge with more precision than your Lordship."

Writing to his uncle about the same time, he spoke of his situation and his prospects; and intimated that Mr. Webbe was willing to resign the Mysore Residency in his favor:

Calcutta, August 9, 1802.— . . . . You have been fully informed of my present situation, which I shall no doubt hold as long as Lord Wellesley remains in India; and upon his departure I have the fullest confidence that I shall succeed to a Residency. Indeed, Mr. Webbe, the present Resident at Mysore (which is the station in India that I would prefer to any but the one I hold), on hearing it suggested that Mr. Wellesley was likely to return to the duties of Private Secretary, sent the resignation of his office to Lord Wellesley for the express purpose of enabling his Lordship to make a permanent provision for me before he quitted India. I mention this circumstance that your mind may be at rest respecting my success. I also mention it, from a motive of pride, to show you how high I stand in the estimation of Mr. Webbe—a gentleman with whom I trust you will one day be acquainted, and you will then admit that I am not proud without cause of possessing his friendship.

But it was not written down in Malcolm's book of life that he should be condemned to any lengthened repose. As long as there was any trouble in the State there was sure to be stirring work for him; and those were days when growing difficulties and sudden accidents kept the Government in a continual state of inquietude. Properly to describe Malcolm's position at this time it should be said that he was Lord Wellesley's Ambassador-General. At the right hand of that energetic statesman, he was always ready for every kind of honorable mission. It is no exaggeration to say that for many years, whenever any unusual embarrassment arose—whenever there was work to be done, delicate and difficult, demanding an equal exercise of tact and vigor, the common formula of suggestion at Government House, current alike with the Governor-General and his advisers, was, "Send Malcolm." So when, in the month of July, 1802, the Persian Ambassador was shot in a riot at Bombay, of course the old words rose to every one's lips; and it was promptly determined to "send Malcolm."

The story need not be told with much circumstantiality. It has been mentioned that when Malcolm was at Teheran it was determined that an ambassador should be despatched from that Court to obtain the formal ratification of the treaties which had been negotiated at the Persian capital. The person selected for this duty was Hadjee Khalil Khan—a man of no very high rank or distinguished ability, but of respectable character and good discretion, who had taken some secondary part in the furtherance of the diplomatic business between the two Courts, and whose selection had been approved by Malcolm. With a considerable retinue of attendants he reached Bombay on the 21st of May, and halted there, as Malcolm had done at Shiraz, during the progress of some of those preliminary formalities which in Eastern countries render ambassadorial progress pompously and ludicrously slow. It would have been well for him if there had been no such delay. For it happened that one day a quarrel arose between some of the Ambassador's retainers and some of the English Sepoys forming his guard of honor. The dispute became loud. The number of partisans increased with the heat of the contention. And soon there was a desperate affray in front of the Ambassador's house. Unfortunately, Hadjee Khalil himself went out to quell the tumult. The contending parties were then resorting to the last extreme of violence, and firing on each other with blind fury. A ball from one of our soldiers' muskets, not intended for so exalted a victim, shot the Ambassador dead upon the spot.

It would be difficult to describe the sensation which this incident excited in the minds of all the European inhabitants of Bombay, from Governor Duncan down to the youngest ensign in the service. The whole settlement went into mourning. A frigate was despatched

immediately to Calcutta to bear the melancholy tidings to the seat of the Supreme Government, and to seek for counsel in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The strongest minds in India were shaken by this terrible intelligence from Bombay. Even Lord Wellesley for a time was stunned and stupified by the disaster. A general gloom hung over the Presidency. Some spoke of the danger, some of the disgrace. To Malcolm the accident was peculiarly afflicting. He could not help feeling that the Ambassador, though the guest of the nation, was peculiarly his guest. It was Malcolm's visit to Persia which Hadjee Khalil Khan was returning when he thus calamitously and ingloriously lost his life in a broil at the hands of one of our own people. He knew and he liked the man; but, beyond all, his heart was in the object of the Persian's mission. He saw now that all his own work was undone at a blow, just as the crown was about to be set upon it; and he knew not how long a time it might take to remedy the evil, even if the outrage did not lead to a total rupture with the Persian Court. "It brings sorrow to all," he wrote to Lord Hobart. "To me it brings the most severe distress. I see in one moment the labor of three years given to the winds (and that by the most unexpected and unprecedented of all accidents), just when it was on the point of completion."

It was natural that in such a conjuncture as this Lord Wellesley should have taken counsel with Malcolm—natural that he should have sought his advice and assistance. Nor was it less a matter of course that the result of the conference between them should have been the immediate despatch, to the seat of the late disaster, of the man who of all others was best acquainted with the character and the temper of the Persians, and whose name was held by them in the highest repute. So

there presently appeared at Calcutta an Extraordinary Gazette announcing that Captain John Malcolm, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, had been appointed to proceed on a special mission to Bombay. "I am ordered upon a mission to Bombay," he wrote to Lord Hobart on the 14th of August, "and I am entrusted with powers that will enable me to alleviate in some degree private grief, and perhaps I may avert public misfortune; but I have little heart to undertake a work under such inauspicious circumstances."

On the 30th of August Malcolm embarked on board the *Chiffonne*, and stretched across the Bay to Masulipatam. An unfavorable voyage of twenty days' duration brought him to that port; and he at once took dawk for Hyderabad. There was work to be done there and at Poonah. This second journey across the peninsula was not to be a mere transit from point to point. There were great events then taking shape in the womb of Time—events in which both the Nizam and the Peishwah were likely to be important actors. Upon the temper of their Courts much depended; and at such a time it was no small thing that one fresh from the atmosphere of the Government House of Calcutta, and charged with all Lord Wellesley's views and opinions, should communicate personally with the Resident, and attend a Durbar at the two Courts. Much was there for him to communicate and much to ascertain; and some business of importance to initiate. The primary object of his mission was not for a moment to be forgotten, nor the importance of a speedy execution of his business at Bombay to be superseded by any extraneous considerations. But Malcolm was a man who, when occasion required, dashed off such episodes of business as these without impeding the main action of his primary career of duty.

On the 25th of September Malcolm reached Hyder-

abad, and plunged at once into the distracting politics of that Court. Writing some time afterwards to Lady Clive, he narrated the principal incidents of his second journey across the peninsula—a more adventurous one than the first—in so animated a manner that the original record may well be left undisturbed:

"I went direct," he wrote, "from Calcutta to Hyderabad, where I found my native friends looking towards the rising storm with great complacency, and exulting in that foresight which had led them to form a treaty of defensive alliance with the British Government, which, since the conclusion of the conquest of Mysore, had been rendered more complete by a considerable addition to the English subsidiary force and the transfer of territory for its perpetual payment—an arrangement which gave a new character to the connexion, as it removed those annual, or rather monthly, irritating discussions which must ever attend the recurring demand of pecuniary payment from a weak and extravagant Court. On a visit I paid to the Minister Azim-ool-Omrah, he told me that I should find all in confusion at Poonah, and 'before your return,' he added, 'we shall have war.' 'I hope not,' said I.* 'It is quite impossible to avoid it,' returned

* Writing at the time from Hyderabad to Mr. Edmonstone, Malcolm said: "I by no means think that there is any immediate cause of apprehension from the Mahrattas; but the French!—the French!"—In the same letter (*September* 26, 1802) he urged the expediency of strengthening the Hyderabad subsidiary force by substituting an European regiment for two Native battalions. "In the event," he said, "of the Nizam's death, and the possibility of the Mahrattas being troublesome, I wish his Lordship would instruct the Resident to endeavour to commute the two battalions of Infantry (that remain to be furnished) for an European regiment. It would add more to the strength of this force than a reinforcement of six Native battalions. No body [of troops] of the magnitude of this with the Nizam should be without a proportion of Europeans. Lord W. before wished to send an European regiment, but the jealousy of the Nizam then precluded the possibility of such an arrangement. That is now much removed. The connexion is more familiar, and I do not think the same objections would be offered. With a regiment of Europeans, and the other regiment of cavalry, this force would, from its situation and its equipment, command the peace of the peninsula; for it would then be fully competent to overthrow either the Poonah or Berar branch of the Mahratta Empire in three months; and in effecting either of these objects, it would require little aid from the co-operation of our troops in other quarters. Meer Allum's situation is most cruel. The Resident does not know whether any endeavours

the Minister. 'You know how exhausted the countries around Poonah are from the large armies that have been constantly encamped in the vicinity of that city for several years. The temporary absence of Scindiah and Holkar has permitted them to recover a little; but both these chiefs are now hastening towards this quarter with hordes of plunderers, and you are bound to defend us and the Rajah of Mysore; and supposing these Mahratta chiefs were to abandon that policy by which they exist, and to desist from plundering their neighbours, the situation into which they are bringing their armies makes it impossible they should persist in so virtuous a resolution. The country into which they are coming cannot support them, and if they mean to keep their lawless bands together, they must lead them to plunder. I am not sorry,' he concluded, 'things are coming to this crisis. These Mahratta gentlemen want a lesson, and we shall have no real peace till they receive it.' Though I told Azim-ool-Omrah that I trusted his conjectures would prove unfounded, and that the clouds would disperse, I could but feel that there was too much truth in what he stated, and I was more satisfied when I entered the Peishwah's territories, which I found in even a worse state than he had described them.

"When arrived within about fifty miles of Poonah I found myself very unexpectedly close to a camp of Horse. I inquired

of his to alleviate it would be improved. This is a subject upon which I dare not trust myself."

On the following day he wrote again to Mr. Edmonstone, saying: "I have been so late at the Durbar that I have not time to write to his Lordship, which is of no consequence, as I have nothing material to communicate. The old Nizam was very gracious. The Minister was so also. The conversation was general, except on one point. The Minister urged, in the Nizam's name, the completing the subsidiary force, which he said some late alarms on the borders rendered particularly necessary. I made a general answer, with which he was satisfied; but said he should, on my return, make some communications of importance that I might convey them to his Excellency. If the European regiment is accepted in lieu of two battalions of Native infantry (a point by no means certain), a reduction might be made, without an infraction of the treaty, of 1400 firelocks—the supernumeraries of the corps now present. The Minister expressed himself highly satisfied and pleased with his Lordship's proclamation to the relations of Hadjee Khalil Khan. The reported sentiments of the *Moguls of Hyderabad* upon this subject merit little attention. They are a discontented race, whose views in visiting India are frustrated at every Court where our influence prevails. This is a general reason for their taking any opportunity of endeavouring to defame the English character; and their only patron, Meer Allum, being in disgrace, is another cause of their aversion to us at this moment."

who they were, and was told they belonged to an army under Futteh Jungh Mama, a Rajpoot leader in the service of Holkar, who had been laying waste all the country around. As I was alone and quite defenceless, I thought it most secure to proceed to the camp, and was fortunate enough to fall in with a Mahratta Jemadar, with whom I was well acquainted. This man, the moment he recognised me, was very civil and attentive. I asked him why Futteh Singh had come to this quarter. 'Char roupeea ka-waste' (for the sake of four rupees), was the answer. As *four* is commonly used by the natives of this part of the country to signify an indefinite number, my friend's speech implied that his commander had come to obtain, or rather to extort, as much as he possibly could from the inhabitants.

"On the day after this adventure I arrived at Poonah, where I accompanied the Resident to Durbar. The negotiation was then in that half-and-half state in which it suited the disposition as well as the crooked policy of the Peishwah to keep it. As I came immediately from the Governor-General, it was expected some opening would be given that would enable me to press upon his Highness the urgency of a speedy settlement; and this seemed more likely to occur as, soon after I had paid my respects in the public hall of audience, he, with much apparent earnestness, requested the Resident and myself to accompany him to another room, in order to have a secret conference, from which he pointedly excluded his most confidential advisers. This, however, proved to be only a part of the game he was then playing. The moment we were in private he commenced his inquiries after the Governor-General's health, and asked if he ever thought of him. I replied that he did—'and with that anxiety which the welfare of a prince excited on whose conduct at this critical period the peace of India in a great measure depended.' The Peishwah, though he appeared to listen very attentively to this observation, replied to it by asking, in a very cold and indifferent manner, 'Whether the Governor-General did not spend a great part of his time at his country house?' The expectation of the Resident that the Peishwah would voluntarily enter upon the subject of the pending negotiations was dissipated by this turn of the conversation, and he said to me aside, in a tone of disappointment, 'See how he winces at the least touch.'

"After a stay of two days at Poonah I proceeded for Bombay.

Horses were posted for me to perform the first fifty miles of the journey, and palanquin-bearers the remainder. When I arrived at Tallagaum I found all the inhabitants with alarm in their countenances gathered round an old Brahmin, who was standing on the bank of a tank (reservoir), and prophesying all kinds of horrors. I joined the throng, and heard him, among other miseries which he anticipated, declare that he discovered from the aspect of the heavens that there would, in less than a month, be a terrible battle fought in their vicinity, and that the river which flowed through their village would run ankle-deep in blood. . . .

"It was dark before I arrived at Keroli. My palanquin was waiting there. I went into it, and, being fatigued with my ride in a hot sun, I had fallen into a very profound slumber, when I was suddenly awoke by the noise of a number of armed men on foot and horseback, and the light of twenty or thirty flambeaux. Springing out of the palanquin, I demanded to know why I was so surrounded. 'You are our prisoner,' said a man, who appeared to be the leader of two hundred pikemen, who now encircled me. 'And who are you?' I asked; 'and by what right do you detain an English officer proceeding on the affairs of his Government?' The man begged I would have patience. 'No injury is intended you,' he said. 'But these are troubled times. My master has seized the Boor-Ghaut, which you are now entering, and can let no one pass.' 'Very well,' I replied; 'you will let me proceed to Poonah?' 'No,' he said; 'that was against his master's orders. He was directed to send me with a guard to a village a little way off in the mountains, where I was to remain till matters were more settled.' I found remonstrance in vain; and walked away with my guard, who were very civil, and from the commander of which I had learnt before I reached my destined place of confinement the reasons of my extraordinary adventure. The chief by whose direction I was stopped exercised some local authority in the neighbourhood of this place, and having understood by exaggerated accounts from Poonah that an action between the troops of Holkar and Scindiah would certainly occur in one or two days, he had in consequence seized upon the Boor Ghaut, parts of which he had fortified, with an impression that the power this gave him over a principal road would aid him in making terms with the victorious party, whichever that should be. He had, it seems, been informed of my approach, and had made me prisoner

under an idea that I might be usefully detained as a hostage for the same purpose."

With his high courage, his cheerful disposition, and his natural love of adventure, Malcolm was not a man to be disquieted by such an accident as this. He was a prisoner; but even captivity he could turn to profitable account. The annoyance of detention could not repress his inclination to study the habits and feelings of the simple inhabitants of the remote village where he was detained. And in the course of a few hours he had so ingratiated himself with this little community, only one member of which had ever seen an Englishman before, that they opened their hearts to him as though he had been an old friend. There is nothing pleasanter than the following in St. Pierre's charming *historiette*, and nothing more characteristic of Malcolm in all his writings:

"I managed to send by the post a short note to the Resident at Poonah, to acquaint him with my situation; and then, having satisfied the officer of the guard placed over me that I would make no attempt to escape, I laid down to rest, and rose early next morning, not a little anxious to contemplate the little community, whom my arrival at so late an hour of the night had thrown into no slight alarm. I found myself in a small village whose inhabitants were Mahrattas of the pastoral tribe. They were buried among the undulations of wooded eminences at the top of the Ghauts, and seemed, though only three or four miles from the great road between Poonah and Bombay, in a great degree out of the busy world, and exempt from those cares and troubles to which their neighbours were exposed. Before two hours of the morning were passed I was acquainted with the whole village. They had none of them, except one man, who had been a Tappal-Peon, or a post-office runner, in the service of the Post-office at Bombay, ever seen an European before. This man, who had made a little money, had for twenty years lived retired in his native village, and was considered as next in consequence to the Potail, or head man. My arrival gave him no

slight additional consequence, as he became, from his supposed better knowledge of English customs and character, the principal medium of communication between the village and their new visitor. I soon found that this had excited the Potail's jealousy, which was roused into anger by the Tappal-Peon's insisting on supplying me with milk for my breakfast and on dressing my dinner. This was a serious matter, as it involved some expectation of profit. I was, therefore, glad to set the question at rest by declaring that I would take a breakfast and dinner from both—by which perfect harmony was restored.

"The inhabitants of this hamlet hardly knew the names of the chiefs who were wasting the plains in their vicinity with fire and sword. They paid, they told me, a trifle of rent to the lord of the country. They had, they said—and they thanked God for it—no fields to be trampled. Their sole wealth was in their cattle and sheep, which, on the slightest alarm, were driven into the recesses of the hills. Their huts afford no temptation to plunderers, and therefore they were never plundered. The diet on which they principally lived was milk. What rice they had was bought by the sale of sheep or butter. They had besides a quantity of poultry, whose eggs, the head man said, were occasionally sold at neighbouring villages and to passing travellers. I never saw a more marked difference of character and habits than there appeared to be between the inhabitants of this retired village and those upon the high road and in the open country. And though nothing could be more disagreeable than my detention, there was a novelty and simplicity of manners in my new friends which quite pleased me, and the two days I passed with them have been ever since recollected with satisfaction.

"I had made such advances to the good opinions of all ranks, by talking to them, laughing with them, distributing a few rupees among the men, giving a silk handkerchief to the Potail's wife, and a few pieces of sugar-candy which I happened to have with me to the children, that I found on the second day all were prepared to express their gratitude by giving me an entertainment. The place of our assembly was an open *pandal*, or rude canopy, in front of the Potail's hut, which was made with a slight neat roof and four bamboo posts. Under the shade of the *pandal* some men began the ball with a shepherds' dance; next the little children, male and female, gave us two dances, one called the Sheep Dance,

and the Fowl Dance. In the former they ran and skipped about on all fours, and bleated like the animals they were imitating. In the second they sate upon their thighs, and putting their right hand over their head to imitate the beak of a fowl, they hopped about and pecked at one another in a very ludicrous and amusing manner.

"But the important part of my entertainment was now announced. A small crowd opened to the right and left, and showed the Tappal-Peon, attired as an English lady. If the dress of this post-office runner, which consisted of a piece of old muslin made into a cap, or bonnet, a common white cloth, which was tied at the sleeves and waist to look like a gown, and bulged out on each side, with some sticks to make a hooped petticoat, was ludicrous, his dancing was still more so. He began by walking slowly up and down, which I concluded was meant as a minuet. During this ceremony, for such I imagine the spectators thought it, all were grave; and I felt obliged to be the same. But the period of sufferance was not long; for in an instant the imitator of English manners began to sing *La, la, la—Tol, lol de rol;* and danced, and jumped, and whisked about in every direction. At the country dance, for as such it was intended, all laughed, and expressed their admiration by loud plaudits. I joined the general voice. The old Tappal man, when it was over, came up to me, and said, 'It is nearly thirty years since I looked in at the door and saw these fine dances. I wanted to teach them to the people of this village, but they have no sense, and cannot learn such things.'

"The next morning put an end to my village episode. The officer of my guard came, and said he had received an order to inform me that I was at liberty to proceed. I concluded from this communication that effectual measures had been adopted at Poonah to secure my release; and having taken a kind leave of my rural friends, I proceeded to the Boor Ghaut. As I was walking down the rugged path, across which several small works had been thrown up, I came to a place where the chief and some of his principal attendants were assembled, apparently to receive me. He rose as I approached, and sent forward one of his men to beg I would sit down and rest myself. I saw from his countenance and the looks of those around him that he was alarmed; and I could not deny myself the gratification of a petty triumph.

'Tell your master,' I exclaimed to the messenger, in a voice loud enough to be heard by the whole group, 'that I have rested, because it was his pleasure I should do so, for two days; at present I have no time to lose; I must proceed on my journey.'

"The meaning of this gentleman's conduct was explained before I had been four hours at Copouly—a village at the foot of the pass. A horseman came from an officer of the Poonah Government to inform me that he had been detached with fifteen hundred horse the moment information was received of my treatment, and that he had, by a forced march, just arrived at the foot of the pass, where he had already made prisoner the chief who had so insulted me. 'And you may be sure,' he added, 'the fellow will be severely punished, for the Peishwah is in a great rage.' In a few minutes I received a message, through one of his relations, from the chief, praying that I would write to the English Resident in his favor. He had acted, he said, on false intelligence, and with no view but to his own safety; and had never intended me any harm. I told the man that I should certainly inform the Resident that though detained I had been treated with kindness. My representation, however, did not prevent a very heavy fine (which in this State is the usual punishment for all irregularities) being levied upon him; and he was, I understood, kept a close prisoner until it was paid."

On the 10th of October, Malcolm reached Bombay. His services were much needed there. The Governor of that Presidency, one of the worthiest and most respectable of men, had grown old in the civil service of the Company, and had risen to eminence by the force rather of a sustained career of unostentatious utility than by the energy of his character or the splendour of his achievements. There are few names which more deserve to be held in honorable remembrance than that of Jonathan Duncan.* But he was not the man for a crisis. The deplorable accident which had happened at Bombay

* Malcolm had a high opinion of his integrity and public spirit. "There exists not," he wrote, "in the universe a man of more honest principles, good intentions, or laborious zeal."

required to be dealt with in a conciliating spirit, but at the same time with firmness and decision. Above all things, it was necessary to betray no symptom of alarm. But as Lord Wellesley had been alarmed at Calcutta, it was not strange that Mr. Duncan should have been alarmed at Bombay. Natural and excusable as was this betrayal of anxiety on the spot, it was more pernicious than at a distance. Presuming upon the Governor's good-nature, the Persians rose in their demands, and endeavoured to intimidate him into compliance with their unreasonable requests. But Malcolm's opportune arrival soon restored things to their just balance. He had made up his mind what to do, and he began at once to do it. Two or three days after his arrival, he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone a sketch of the measures he proposed to adopt:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE, Govt. to Duchia, Foreign

Bombay, Oct. 13, 1802.

MY DEAR EDMONSTONE,—I do not like to write a public letter until I can clearly inform Government of the steps I have taken, and the *whys* and *wherefores* which have influenced my conduct; but it will be pleasant for you to know that I am going on well, and that I trust all will be speedily and satisfactorily arranged. The Hadjee's body will be conveyed on board a ship in a day or two, and it will be accompanied to Kirbalah by Abdul Luteef, who will *now* behave *as he ought*, and about forty Persians. The others (about eighty) will remain here until his Majesty's pleasure is known. I shall direct Mr. Strachey* to remain at Poonah till his evidence is required, and Mr. Smith† to continue

* Mr. Edward Strachey, of the Civil Service—a member of a distinguished family—was appointed to attend the Persian Ambassador, and was with him when the affray took place which ended in the Elchee's death. After the occurrence he went round to Calcutta, and reported with great candor and circumstantiality all the details of the untoward event. He afterwards accompanied Malcolm back to the Bombay Presidency, halting, it appears, at Poonah.

† Mr. T. Hanky Smith, who was, at a later period, sent on a mission to Sindh.

acting as Mehmendar, for the duties of which he is well qualified. I shall send Mr. Pasley with the Hadjee's body, which will not only be considered as a high compliment, but be useful in a thousand ways. It will preserve this transaction from the *touch* of Mr. Manesty and Mr. Jones. It will enable me to convey a correct state of the feeling here upon the subject to many respectable Persians, and I shall obtain from Mr. P. a true account of the manner in which the transaction is received in Persia. He will give Lovett* information which will secure him from error at his outset, and be of the highest utility to him during his residence in Persia. I shall take a particular account of the Hadjee's public and private property, and divide it: the former shall be held at the disposal of the King, while the latter shall be given by Mr. Lovett and Abdul Luteef (who shall have joint charge of it) to his legal heirs, on their granting regular receipts, and agreeing to restore any part of it that ever may be claimed by the King.

I shall satisfy the *reasonable* expectations of Luteef, remunerate his expense, authorise a handsome present to the Hadjee's son and *wives* at Abushire, a distribution of alms at Kertulai, and make a noble present to every person in the Embassy in the name of the Governor-General, and not exceed the limits of one lakh of rupees. The pensions which I shall recommend will amount to about forty-six thousand rupees per annum. You have here the outline of my plans, and I am sanguine in the hope that they will be ultimately crowned with success. I am, as you may suppose, overwhelmed with business. I enclose a letter from the King of Johanna.

Yours ever most sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Lovett is sick on the road. This is the only cross accident which has occurred. He is too fat.

Two days afterwards he wrote again to the Political Secretary:

* Mr. Lovett was a young civilian of considerable promise, who had distinguished himself greatly in College by his proficiency in the Native languages. His career was unhappily a brief one.

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE.

Bombay, Oct. 15.

MY DEAR EDMONSTONE,—All's well—we are going on swimmingly. Since my last, I have only altered my opinion on one point—"respecting the property." I will take an inventory of the whole, but not divide it. The inventory will be transmitted by Aga Hussan to the King for the royal orders. This proceeding is more safe and more politic, though perhaps less just than that I proposed; but, upon mature reflection, it is the only mode. The publicity of the transaction gives the heirs a good chance of obtaining their right, as the King would incur much obloquy if he was to plunder them. I keep a journal of my proceedings, and I think they will be attended with success. I never was more sanguine in any hope. Mr. Smith, who lives with the Persians, assures me that since I first spoke to them he has never been troubled with one complaint, though before he used to be mobbed from morning to night, and that they all appear satisfied. Your friend Luteef is, *after a private lecture*, the best-behaved and most moderate man in Bombay. Mr. Duncan, with that good-nature and candor which he so eminently possesses, congratulated me this morning on the great change which had been effected in his Persian friends, and said my conduct had convinced him that an over-desire to conciliate had led him into error. The fact is, his errors all arose from timidity—the rascals bullied him—*Luteef at the head.* Aga Hussan has always behaved well. He has suffered much, but is perfectly recovered.

God bless you, and believe me yours always,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Whilst the measures traced in the preceding letters were in progress of execution, Malcolm addressed himself, in terms of condolence and conciliation, to the King and the chief Ministers of Persia. From this correspondence, which necessarily contains much repetition and much Oriental exaggeration, it will suffice to quote a few passages:

TO THE KING OF PERSIA.

It is not becoming in me to speak of the melancholy event which has taken place here by the decrees of an inscrutable Providence—God knows the heart; and He knows what mine has suffered on this occasion. But it is not for man to question His dispensations. Your Majesty being acquainted with the attachment and friendship which the Governor-General entertains for you, can well appreciate the severe affliction into which he has been thrown by this fatal accident. His Excellency has sent me to this quarter to administer to the comfort and consolation of your Majesty's subjects at this place, and to forward his letter to your Majesty; and I hope I have not been deficient in executing these duties.

TO MEERZA SHEFFEE.

You will have heard long before you receive this letter the accounts of the melancholy death of Hadjee Khalil Khan. I shall not, therefore, write you particulars of that event. Who shall arrest the blow of fate? Who can question the dispensations of Providence? It is our duty to submit with resignation to the decrees of the Eternal, whose ways are mysterious and whose judgments are awful. You have known the pains with which the English Government courted the friendship of your illustrious King. As the unworthy instrument of the Governor-General, I exerted myself to be the means of establishing friendship between the two States. From the greatness and generosity of your King, and the kindness and wisdom of his Ministers, I was successful, and on my return to India the Governor-General was rejoiced at the favorable result of my mission. The solid foundations of a friendship so beneficial can never be shaken by the whirlwind of misfortune which accident has raised; but must continue firm and durable for ever. The tears which we have all shed on this melancholy occasion are the sincerest proofs of the friendship of the British State for your illustrious monarch.

I have come to Bombay by orders of the Governor-General, to endeavour to alleviate the sorrows of the King's slaves and servants who are now here, and to forward a letter from the Governor-General to his Majesty. . . . I send the body of the late Khan, with every circumstance of honor, to Karbula for inter-

ment. A number of Persians will accompany it. Others, with the near relations of the late Ambassador, Aga Hussun and Aga Hoosain, will remain here until his Majesty's orders are known.

TO MEERZA BUZOORG.

Although this affair must be considered as an accident, all persons concerned in the affray have been committed to prison; and the English Government is now engaged (in the mode which is agreeable to the established laws and usages of British jurisprudence) in discovering to whom guilt attaches, that they may hereafter be brought to condign punishment. You, my friend, are well acquainted with the laws and usages to which I here allude.

TO CHIRAGH ALI KHAN.

Mr. Lovett, a gentleman of rank and respectability, has been nominated Resident at Bushire, and he has been particularly appointed to take charge of the letter from his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General to the King. Should Mr. Lovett receive his Majesty's commands to repair to Shiraz or Teheran, or should his Ministers inform him that they consider such a step advisable, he will, in concert with you (on whose proved friendship he will wholly rely on this occasion), proceed without hesitation, and give, if required, a full and satisfactory account and explanation of the late melancholy accident. If this takes place, I indulge a hope that the whole will be settled in the most desirable and amicable manner through your kind and friendly mediation.

Postscript.—After writing this letter, I have been induced, by the severe illness of Mr. Lovett and the fear of detaining for a longer period his Lordship's letter to the King, to send that letter with an Urzee from myself and several letters to the nobles of the Government, by Mr. Pasley, who will, till the arrival of Mr. Lovett, fulfil his duties; and with respect to forwarding the letter to his Majesty, which requires expedition, he will act in conformity to your desire and advice.

A fortnight's activity at Bombay seems to have enabled Malcolm so far to perform his appointed work as to per-

mit him to contemplate an almost immediate return to Calcutta. On the 27th of October he wrote again, privately, to the Political Secretary:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE.

Bombay, Oct. 27.

My dear Edmonstone,—I have made all my arrangements to my satisfaction, except those with Meer Abdul Luteef, who is one of the most troublesome gentlemen I ever met. The body and about seventy Persians embark to-morrow, and I hope they will sail on the 2nd, which will allow of my starting on the 3rd of next month. Of Lovett's arrival I have little hope. He must follow. Pasley will execute his duties that appear urgent. I hope Lovett will not fall into the hands of the Pindarrees. These scoundrels so completely occupy the road, that I doubt much whether I shall be able to return by that route. I have a vessel ready to go to Cannanore, and from that I shall go *viâ* Seringapatam.

Strachey's business is not connected with that of any other persons. He is in a state of much anxiety, and I have promised him to write you to expedite the resolution respecting him as much as possible. It may, however, be better for him that it should be delayed until I return.

Though I am vexed that my absence should have been so long protracted, I have the consolation of thinking that I have been able to put the whole of this transaction into a creditable shape; and I have been able to do more than I at first expected. My success has been wholly owing to my being personally known to the majority of the Persians, and obtaining from them a confidence which enabled me to set aside all intermediate agents, and consequently freed me from all intrigues.

Yours ever,

John Malcolm.

But these sanguine expectations of a speedy return to Calcutta were not realised. Several causes co-operated to delay Malcolm's departure from the Western Presi-

dency. Among these was the receipt of letters from Mehedi Ali Khan,* which rendered it essential that new instructions should be given to Mr. Lovett. The astute Mahomedan diplomatist seems to have had a rooted conviction that he could best serve his Christian employers by an unlimited amount of lying. So as soon as he heard that the Persian Ambassador had been killed, he invented an account of the transaction, from which it appeared that the unhappy man owed his death entirely to some folly or misconduct of his own, and that no one else was deserving of blame. But these falsehoods Malcolm utterly repudiated. It was abhorrent to his nature to blacken the reputation of a dead man. The mendacity of Mehedi Ali Khan was continually obtruding itself upon him, and embarrassing his operations. So he recommended that the Persian should be removed and pensioned, and an English gentleman appointed agent at Bushire in his stead. Of the eventual success of Malcolm's measures there can be no doubt. He understood the Persian character, and he was personally acquainted with the people with whom he had to deal. All were satisfied, from the King on the throne to the humblest of the defunct Elchee's retainers. But the magnitude of the crisis had been greatly exaggerated. The death of the Ambassador created but little sensation in Persia, and that little soon passed away. It was not regarded as a national outrage, but as a debt contracted by us which money-payments might promptly discharge. And it was said soon afterwards at Shiraz that the English might kill ten ambassadors if they would pay for them at the same rate.

Towards the close of November everything was in a state to admit of Malcolm's departure from Bombay;

* Our agent at Bushire, of whom mention has been made in the preceding chapter.

and before the end of the year he was again at the elbow of the Governor-General, deep in councils of such magnitude as for a time to throw into the shade all the flatulent littlenesses of Persian diplomacy, and to render him unmindful of the avarice and mendacity of the Persian character. We were on the eve of a great contest. The arena was on our own frontier, and the prize was the supremacy of Upper India.

But whatever might be the magnitude of the transactions to which he gave his mind, or the pressing character of the business which forced itself upon him, there was one remote spot, many thousand miles away, across the black water, to which his thoughts were continually turning. Whatever might be the environments of his daily life, he had still a place in his memory for Burnfoot. I have said this before; but I must say it again, before all such references are deluged and borne away in the whirl of Mahratta politics. John Malcolm's father was now an old man, and his days were numbered. It was great solace, in exile, to the successful Indian diplomatist, to think that, although he had not grown and was not yet growing rich, he had sufficient of this world's store to increase the comforts of his parents' declining years. His father had remonstrated with him on his want of prudence and economy. To this Malcolm wrote back in reply:

"You are perfectly correct, my dear father, in what you say respecting my want of economy. It is my weak side, and it is a fault which I am anxiously endeavouring to correct; and I shall persevere, I hope, in doing so in a manner which will enable me to return in a few years to Burnfoot, to enjoy myself in the midst of a family who, amid all my *honors*, occupy my thoughts by day, and my dreams by night. I have only one request to make of you, and your granting it will determine that share of happiness which I am to enjoy until my return to Europe. It is, my

dear father, that you do, upon every occasion, call upon Mr. Pasley to furnish you with whatever sums you may require for the comfort of yourself, my dear mother, or any of my family, from funds of mine in his hands; and I entreat that you will deny yourself no indulgence that my means can supply. Your acting otherwise upon this point will make me really unhappy. I have written to Mr. Pasley to the same effect, and shall be most severely disappointed if I do not hear that you have done in this instance as I wish. Your exercising this latitude will make no difference in the period of my return to Europe, as the fortune which I have now a certainty of obtaining will be on a scale beyond my hopes and expectations; and I shall regret its possession if one shilling belongs to the heap which ought, in my own opinion, to have been devoted to the use of my family."

Not very many months after the despatch of this letter, one of his sisters wrote to John Malcolm, saying: "In how many ways do you contrive to add to the happiness of your family. You are making the old age of your parents easy in pecuniary respects, except what it is natural for them to feel in being so expensive to you. You enable your sisters to gratify their inclinations without being burdensome on their own family; and all this you do in such a manner, that our obligation to you is only an additional pleasure. Should our extravagance prolong your stay in India, it would be a misfortune indeed, for no present comfort or future expectation can equal the happiness we propose to ourselves from your return." He was in the very thick of Mahratta politics, perhaps of Mahratta battle, when the letter containing this passage was put into his hands. Wherever it may have found him, it must have done him good.

He was in a fair way, he said, when writing to his father, to amass a fortune at last. The appointment to the Mysore Residency which he had surrendered for the public good some time before, was now in reality to pass into his hands. The new year, 1803, saw him busy

with preparations for his departure from Calcutta. Mr. Webbe had declined the Residency, except as a temporary arrangement, and it was the opinion of the best-qualified lookers-on that Mr. Cockburn, though endowed with many high qualities, had not those which would especially fit him for such an office. So strong, indeed, was Barry Close's* opinion that Malcolm alone possessed the necessary qualifications, that he declared he would have most reluctantly consented to the change of station which had placed him at Poonah, if it had not been for an assured conviction that Malcolm would succeed him at Mysore. But events were then developing themselves which rendered even the administration of Mysore a matter of secondary importance; and Malcolm's services were required on fields of more exciting enterprise and strenuous action.

* Colonel Close was then considered —and justly—to be at the very head of the Indian diplomatic body. General Wellesley expressed an equally strong opinion respecting the necessity of appointing Malcolm to Mysore.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL WELLESLEY'S CAMP.

[1803—1804.]

MAHRATTA POLITICS—FLIGHT OF THE PEISHWAH—THE TREATY OF BASSEIN—MALCOLM AT HEAD-QUARTERS—INTERCOURSE WITH GENERAL WELLESLEY—RESTORATION OF THE PEISHWAH—THE MAHRATTA WAR—ILLNESS OF MALCOLM—DEPARTURE FROM CAMP—EFFECTS OF HIS RETURN—THE TREATY OF PEACE.

"I CAN answer for it," wrote the Duke of Wellington, in 1824, to Sir John Malcolm, "that from the year 1796 no great transaction has taken place in the East in which you have not played a principal, most useful, conspicuous, and honorable part; and you have in many services, diplomatic as well as military, been distinguished by successes, any one of which in ordinary circumstances would have been deemed sufficient for the life of a man, and would have recommended him to the notice of his superiors." If Malcolm had been distinguished only by the part which he played in the great transactions of the first Mahratta wars, he would still have been conspicuous among the worthies of Anglo-Indian history and the architects of the Anglo-Indian Empire.

But the multitude of these services brings perplexity to the biographer. The life of Sir John Malcolm must necessarily be a history of those important military and

diplomatic operations by which the English made themselves masters of the continent of Hindostan. But it is my study to keep the purely biographical element ever uppermost in this work; to show not what was done, but what was done by *him;* and only to throw in as much of the background of independent history as will duly define the outline and determine the proportions of Malcolm's own individual acts.

On his last journey across the Peninsula of India he had been told in the Mahratta country that the storm was rising; and soon after he quitted Poonah, it rose. The Mahratta chiefs were warring among themselves. Scindiah and Holkar were contending for a paramount influence at the Court of the Peishwah, who was among the recognised princes of India, and, though little to be trusted, one of our allies. The others, according to the political vocabulary of the day, were nothing better than "freebooters." Amidst the ruins of the Mogul Empire they had been groping and scrambling for what they could get. Bold, energetic, unscrupulous, they were growing into formidable powers; and in proportion to the recklessness of their own usurpations were the jealousy and mistrust with which they regarded the military successes and the territorial progress of the intruding Feringhees. It was not then so obvious as it subsequently became, that the progress of our own power and that of these Mahratta chiefs could not be cotemporaneously developed—that the one must necessarily obstruct the other, and that only a collision could determine which power was to be held in check. But it was plain even then, that if a hostile influence were established at the Court of Poonah, the country of the Nizam would speedily be overrun by the Mahrattas, and the balance of power which we had exerted ourselves to establish, effectually destroyed, to our own detriment and peril.

On the 25th of October, 1802, a great battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Poonah between the troops of Holkar and the united forces of Scindiah and Badjee Row. Victory declared itself in favor of the former; and the Peishwah abandoned his capital and fled. The opportunity was not to be lost. In his extremity he sought a closer union with the British. His weakness now readily conceded what his capricious and untractable temper had before withheld. And our English statesmen, who had for some time desired to establish at Poonah an influence similar to that which they maintained at Hyderabad, now profited by the danger which threatened the Peishwah, and determined to fix in his dominions a strong subsidiary force.

"The line in Mahratta affairs is taken," wrote Malcolm to Kirkpatrick, on New Year's-day, 1803, "and it is, I think, the most politic, as it is evidently the most just proceeding that could have been adopted. If we fix a subsidiary force with the Peishwah, there can be no doubt of obtaining all that we can wish for, both for ourselves and the Nizam, at the same time that we secure (which is the great object) the peace of the Peninsula, which, till that event takes place, must be periodically disturbed by such freebooters as Scindiah and Holkar, whom nothing but the terror of the British arms will ever cause to desist from their ruinous incursions into the countries which lie to the south of the Nerbuddah. I anticipate every success from an armed negotiation, and I trust that the affairs of the Mahratta Empire will be settled without blood. The present appearance is favorable to such a result; but should it be otherwise—should we be required to repel attack or to punish perfidy—can there be a doubt of success?"

Ten days afterwards Malcolm wrote from Barrackpore to the Commander-in-Chief:

"The Peishwah has arrived at Bassein, and Colonel Close has joined him. A party of British troops have been encamped in the vicinity of that town for his protection, and there is every reason to expect that he will shortly execute a formal treaty upon the basis of the engagement into which he has already entered. This great object once effected, I can have little doubt with respect to other points. Holkar, though vain of his late success, is alarmed at Scindiah, and is by no means prepared to enter upon so unequal a contest as that with which he has been threatened if he refuses acquiescence to any arrangement which is supported by the English Government and that of the Nizam; and Scindiah, however adverse to the establishment of a British force at Poonah, feels too sensibly the danger to which his northern territories would be exposed to hazard a rupture with the English Government . . . . . From what I have stated, your Excellency will observe that circumstances are most favorable for the full and peaceable accomplishment of the Governor-General's views; but security as well as policy requires that his Lordship should, upon this occasion, show that he possesses ample means of commanding that tranquillity which he solicits, as it is only to such an impression that he can owe its establishment. As I consider hostilities to be very improbable, I shall not take up your time with speculations upon the likely result of such an event—I shall only express my full conviction of a prosperous issue. The British arms would meet with little opposition from even the combined efforts of the weak and discordant branches of the Mahratta Empire, and one short campaign would for ever dissipate the terror with which the Indian politicians in England are accustomed to contemplate the power of the Mahratta nation."

The Commander-in-Chief to whom these over-sanguine speculations were addressed was General Lake. Perhaps, in after days, he reminded Malcolm of the "one short campaign" which was for ever to have crushed the hostility, and settled the turbulence of the Mahrattas.*

* In the same letter Malcolm, speaking of the military preparations which had been made, says: "All these are calculated to prevent hostili-

Meanwhile, on the last day of the old year (1802), the treaty with the Peishwah—known in history as the treaty of Bassein—was concluded. Malcolm had been in constant communication with Colonel Close, by whom the treaty was negotiated, and had conveyed to him the views of the Governor-General. "He has had to deal," wrote the former to Mr. Webbe, with reference to the Colonel's diplomacy, "with wily scoundrels, who do not possess respect even for the most solemn engagements, when they conceive that they operate against their interests. After all, we must depend upon the able application of our force, for we can owe the good faith of the Peishwah, and the acquiescence of the other Mahratta chiefs in the treaty we form with him, to no motive but apprehension, and, in consequence, the more formidable our preparations for war, the more chance we have of effecting our object in peace."

Such, described in Malcolm's own letters, was the state of politics in the great Indian Peninsula when he prepared to leave the family of the Governor-General and assume his new office at Mysore. He left Calcutta with a heavy heart. He was warmly attached to Lord Wellesley; he had become accustomed to take part in the councils, and to participate in the schemes of the Governor-General; and now, little knowing the great events in which he was about to become an actor—little dreaming that one greater even than the Governor-General was about to become his associate both in council and in action—he felt almost as though he were going into exile, condemned to a future of comparative isolation and re-

ties, which it is the Governor-General's confident expectation he will be able to avoid." Lord Wellesley, indeed, at this time, both desired and expected to avoid a Mahratta war; and Malcolm entirely participated in these sentiments.

tirement. To be Resident at Mysore in such a conjuncture was to hold a post of honor, demanding energy and ability of no common order for the due performance of its duties; but it was to take him away from the great centre of action, and from the elbow of the accomplished statesman whom he so much loved and revered.

Early in February, Malcolm took ship for Madras; and when the first bustle and confusion of embarkation were over, he sate down and unburdened his heart in the following letters to Lord Wellesley and his brother Henry:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO LORD WELLESLEY.

United Kingdom, at Sea, Feb. 9, 1803.

My Lord,—Before I left Calcutta I attempted personally to express to your Excellency the feelings of my heart; but I had not the power; and if I were to endeavour to state them in a letter I should be equally unsuccessful. Acknowledgments of obligations and professions of gratitude—the current payment of common favors—shall never be offered to your Lordship in discharge of a debt so serious as mine. An unshaken adherence to the principles of honor—a firm and onward tread in the path of virtue, and an unwearied exertion of talents which your Lordship's approbation has persuaded me are not contemptible, will, I trust, combine to guide me in a course of action which shall convince your Lordship I have not thrown away the extraordinary advantages I have enjoyed, in holding so long a confidential station near your Excellency's person; and I entertain the proud hope that no one action of my life (to whatever period it may please Providence to extend that blessing) shall ever give your Lordship cause to regret the partial kindness with which I have been treated, or the marks of honorable favor with which I have been distinguished.

Among the various feelings which at this moment occupy my breast, I recognise with exultation that of a personal attachment to your Lordship to be predominant; and I shall glory in every opportunity I may have of showing the nature of the zeal which that attachment inspires, and how far it places me above the

common motives which influence men who are busy in the self-interested pursuit of fortune.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,
J. MALCOLM.

MAJOR MALCOLM TO THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY.

At Sea, Feb. 9, 1803.

MY DEAR WELLESLEY,—After the usual delays, we are at length at sea, and we shall, I hope, make a good voyage to Madras, though we cannot expect the present fair wind to be steady.

You know the state of my mind so perfectly that I shall not trouble you with my feelings. I have none of which I am ashamed, though I have many which I might hesitate to express. One circumstance which has, perhaps, escaped your memory recurs so often to mine, that I cannot avoid mentioning it. A few days before we parted at Allahabad, you told me that there was no one event in your Indian life with which you were better satisfied than that of having promoted my advancement. I know not what answer I made at the instant, but I never heard an expression which made so deep an impression on my mind. It has dwelt there ever since; it has been present to my recollection on every occasion when my exertions have been demanded, and will be so during my continuance in public life; and I am convinced the thought of that expression will preserve me (were every other motive wanting) from any actions which are low or unworthy, while it would lead me, if destitute of ambition, to aspire to the attainment of all that is good and excellent.

I contemplate with sincerest joy the happy and noble prospects which open to you in your native country. At an age when most of your rank begin their course in life, you can boast the performances of duties which, from their magnitude, have required the application of all the resources of an informed, liberal, and great mind; and you can rest your public character upon the solid basis of their complete and successful accomplishment.

Your great experience and extensive knowledge of Indian affairs will, I am convinced, give you an early opportunity of employment in this quarter of the world; and I am unconscious of a private motive when I express an anxious hope that no cir-

cumstance may prevent you from accepting it. In the full confidence that you will continue to fix your mind upon a subject so little understood in England, but of such ultimate importance to the existence of that kingdom in its present scale of greatness as the British Empire in the East. I shall become a voluminous, and, perhaps, a troublesome correspondent; but to console your mind under the alarm which this threat must naturally excite, I promise not even to expect the acknowledgment of, much less answers to, my letters, and to content myself with discharging on your devoted head all my narratives, statements, politics, true histories, opinions, reports, and conjectures—in short, all the devices of my brain which do not assume a poetical form, and from all such, a regard for your peace of mind, no less than a desire to preserve your good opinion of my prudence, leads me to promise you the fullest exemption.

May God Almighty bless you, and preserve you, and send you a prosperous voyage to England; and may it be ordained that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again, either in this country or in old England.

I am, my dear Wellesley (with the most sincere respect and regard), your grateful and affectionate friend,

JOHN MALCOLM.

The voyage down the Bay was not a rapid one, though the wind was, or ought to have been, in his favor; and we find him, on the 16th, still "at sea," writing to Lord Hobart on the politics of the day, and detailing the course of operations which Lord Wellesley had determined to pursue:

"Lord Wellesley," he wrote, "will leave no measures unadopted to effect the restoration of the Peishwah, except such as involve the risk of a Mahratta war, or of danger to the tranquillity of the British possessions. A detachment of eight thousand men will move with the Nizam's army towards Poonah, to countenance the Peishwah's return to the capital; and another corps of equal, or superior, strength will advance in co-operation with the Southern Mahratta Jageerdars, and in communication with the army from Hyderabad, along the Tangabudra, until they are joined by the

Peishwah, who will march from some part of the Coast near Bombay, protected by some of his own followers and a small corps from that settlement.

"Whilst these armies are proceeding towards Poonah to reinstate the Peishwah in his authority, the main body of the Coast army will occupy a position on the frontier of Mysore, for the purpose of covering that country and the Carnatic from the inroads of freebooters, and preserving open the communications with its advanced detachments.

"This plan of operations, whilst it exposes nothing to risk, must, if the majority of the Peishwah's subjects are favorable to the restoration of that Prince's authority (a fact which has always been presumed, and on the fact of which the present treaty has been concluded), ensure complete success; nor is it in the power, if it was in the contemplation, of either Holkar or Scindiah to defeat, or for any length of period to protract, its accomplishment. But these chiefs have both shown a disposition towards an amicable adjustment, and no means will be neglected which can induce their acquiescence in this important arrangement. For that acquiescence, and for all the success which may attend this negotiation, we shall be chiefly indebted to those formidable military equipments which have been made with unexampled vigor and celerity, and which have already answered the first great object for which they were assembled—viz., that of securing our own territories and those of our allies from the invasion of a nation who have too often been induced by a common desire of plunder to reconcile for the moment their discordant interests, and to unite their armies in an attack on their unguarded and defenceless neighbours. I mean to leave Madras, a few days after my arrival, for Mysore; and as I shall then be an actor in the important scene, I shall make it my duty to give your Lordship information of the progress made in the accomplishment of the objects in view."

To a friend in England he wrote, at the same time, speaking unreservedly of his plans and prospects, in a manner which shows how modest were his views, and how limited his ambition, at this period of his life:

"I am ashamed of having so long delayed my answer to your kind letter of the 6th of May; but I have been a busy man this

last twelvemonth, and am now actually sailing down the Bay of Bengal on my third political mission within that short period. I am on my way to Mysore, and though my nomination to the Residency of that place has been chiefly dictated by the situation of affairs at the moment, I shall probably remain there for some time; and if my mind were bent on the attainment of comfort or the accumulation of wealth, I could never desire a change. But while I continue in public life I am determined never to attach myself to the soil, and to be ready for all services, as the only principle of action on which I can expect to raise my character to that elevation which I am bold enough to contemplate. . . .

". . . You will see by the enclosed extract of a letter from the Marquis to the Court of Directors that my late mission to Bombay has been honored with approbation, and that I am not losing ground in the diplomatic line, though advancing in that or any other in India appears to be a matter of very little consideration in England, where I believe you think all Indians alike—that all acknowledge the same sordid motive of action, and that all are equally undeserving of any mark of honor or distinction. However, this is of little consequence to me. I shall continue to do my utmost till I am a pensioner, which I shall be in 1806. My pension and savings will then give me 1500*l.* per annum, and on that I can live with my friends. Nor is it in the power of gold to bribe me to longer banishment."

On or about the 26th or 27th of February Malcolm reached Madras. He was the bearer of despatches to Lord Clive, containing instructions relative to the movement of the troops which were to support the restoration of the Peishwah; and, charged with the Governor-General's views on the great question of Mahratta politics, he was soon deep in council with the Madras Governor and Mr. Webbe. The latter had been instructed to proceed to the Court of the Rajah of Berar,* there to hold

* Mr. Webbe was very anxious to see both John Adam and Richard Jenkins appointed his *aides* at Nagpore. Writing to Mr. Edmonstone on this subject, Malcolm says: "It is his (Webbe's) hope that Mr. Adam will be nominated his secretary, and Mr. Jenkins one of his assistants. He is personally acquainted with the former, and would prefer him as a secretary to any young man in India, and he has heard sufficient of the character and

the same position which was held by Colonel Collins at Scindiah's Court, whilst Malcolm himself, making arrangements in the mean while for the proper performance of the duties of the Mysore Residency, was to join the army in the field, for the purpose of communicating also to the Commander-in-Chief the views of the Governor-General. His sojourn at Madras was short, but not unimportant; for he not only made Lord Clive and Mr. Webbe thoroughly acquainted with the opinions and the wishes of Lord Wellesley, but he rescued the first from an embarrassment which might have had a most injurious effect upon the out-turn of those events which were fast developing themselves into a great and glorious war. By some inadvertence on the part of the secretariat, the official letter to Lord Clive, which conveyed the instructions of the Governor-General respecting the plan of military operations and the strength of the corps to be despatched in advance, gave discretionary power in these matters to the Governor "in Council." With a Council arrayed against him, and in most cases eager to obstruct his measures, Lord Clive felt that he could do little to further the views of the Governor-General, unless the power were delegated to himself in his individual character as Governor of Madras. With equal clearness of perception Malcolm saw the difficulty, and promptly cut the knot asunder. He took upon himself to assure Lord Clive that the insertion of the words "in Council" was an oversight, and that it was the intention of Lord Wellesley to delegate the discretionary powers conferred in the official letter solely to the Governor himself. Fortified by this assurance, Lord Clive took into his

qualifications of the other to make him desirous to have him attached to his suite. . . . . I shall rejoice to see my friend Adam enter the diplomatic corps. I will pledge my existence on his success." Richard Jenkins went to Nagpore, and made a great reputation there, but John Adam clung resolutely to the secretariat.

own hands the direction of the military operations, free from the restraints which would have been imposed upon him by an antagonistic Council.

"I propose leaving Madras in a few days," wrote Malcolm to Lord Wellesley on the 27th of February; "and as I travel post I shall soon join the army, and convey to the Commander-in-Chief, in the clearest manner I can, a correct idea of the conduct which, in your Excellency's judgment, the present emergency demands." On the same day he wrote also to Mr. Edmonstone, intimating these intentions, and adding: "Your instructions to Close about his negotiations with Holkar, which are excellent, give me great hopes of a good and speedy arrangement." On the 4th of March he wrote again to Mr. Edmonstone, saying: "I leave this on the 7th inst. for Camp, where I expect to arrive in six or seven days. I like appearances, and am strong in hope of a speedy and happy termination to the present negotiations. I never was more engaged than I have been since my arrival. My time is spent in occupations of a serious and a trifling nature. I wish I were clear of Madras." On the day fixed for his departure he wrote a few hasty lines to the same correspondent: "I am getting into my palanquin, and shall be on the frontier in five or six days; and then for the *nusseeb!* I cannot tell you the state of my mind, but honest hope, thank God! is uppermost."

A long palanquin journey is favorable to meditation. It is easy to conjecture the character of Malcolm's reflections as he posted onward to join the camp of the Commander-in-Chief. A strong force had been assembled in the preceding autumn on the Mysore frontier; and now a division of this army under General Arthur Wellesley was to take the field, and to co-operate with the Hyderabad subsidiary force under General Stevenson,

for the restoration of the Peishwah to the capital from which he had been expelled. On the day after Malcolm's departure from Madras, Wellesley's force had broken ground from Hurryhur. Stevenson had marched from Hyderabad a few days before; and the two divisions were to unite on their way to Poonah. The great question now was whether this movement would bring on a collision with Holkar, or Scindiah, or both. The just and moderate character of the treaty of Bassein, which guaranteed to all the Mahratta Jagheerdars their respective rights, was calculated to secure peace; but Malcolm well knew the delusive character of such calculations when we had to deal with men of unscrupulous avarice and ambition, who, by no means content with their own rights, were eager to grasp all they could of their neighbours'. He knew, too, that the Mahratta chiefs in Northern India were aided and influenced by the French—that our great European rivals had been for some time organising and disciplining the troops of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, whose territories were almost interlaced with those of the Company on our north-western frontier. But great as was the jealousy with which our continued successes were regarded by the French—great as was the jealousy with which they were regarded by the Mahratta chiefs, the latter were still more jealous of each other. In this internal jealousy our best hopes centred; but it was one which many circumstances might frustrate. And Malcolm, as he posted towards the British camp, weighed the chances of peace and war in the balance, and was sorely perplexed.

About the middle of the month, Malcolm reached the head-quarters of the Madras army, at Hurryhur, and after two days spent in General Stuart's camp, during which he made that officer thoroughly conversant with the views of the Governor-General, he pushed on to join

the advanced force under General Wellesley. On the 19th of March he arrived in Camp, at Hoobly, and on the following day wrote to General Stuart, saying:

"I arrived in Camp yesterday, and I have since had the fullest and most satisfactory communications with General Wellesley—all of whose arrangements appear to me calculated in the utmost degree to promote the success of the public service. The General thinks the present state of affairs, as connected with the pending political questions, makes it desirable that I should proceed at least as far as Moritah with his detachment; and, as this opinion is entirely consonant with my own, I have presumed upon the confidence which you have reposed in me so far as to anticipate your approbation of this measure. General Wellesley does not expect to reach Moritah before the 2nd of April, and by that period we must have some information of the state of the negotiations which Colonel Close has opened with Holkar. We must also before that time be able to form a decided judgment of the aid to be expected from the Southern Jagheerdars, and have learnt the Peishwah's intentions as to his own movements, which I have written Colonel Close will, I trust, be all directed to the great object of forming an early junction with General Wellesley. A knowledge of the above circumstances will fully enable me to decide the quarter in which my exertions may be hereafter employed with that prospect of benefit to the public interests; and if there does not seem to General Wellesley and myself any necessity for my proceeding further, I can return to the frontier from Moritah; and present appearances, I am happy to say, give assurance of my being able to move with my escort in that or any other direction to the south of the Kistnah, without meeting any obstacle or impediment."*

* On the following day he wrote from Camp, near Durwar: "You may satisfy his Excellency that I have not taken the resolution of proceeding with General Wellesley without being fully satisfied that my absence from Mysore could be productive of no evil. The zeal, activity, and attachment of the Dewan (Purneah) insures every exertion being made in that quarter. . . . . You will get alarms from Hyderabad, but rest assured we shall manage to give a decided turn to affairs at Poonah before either the Bhoonsla (Rajah of Berar) or Scindiah, respecting both of whom they croak, have time to interfere with effect. When Close joins us, General Wellesley, he, and myself will form a committee who will act with tolerable decision, and in full confidence of his Lordship's approbation."

It was not likely that when two such men as Arthur Wellesley and John Malcolm found themselves in Camp together they would be in any hurry to part from each other. They met as old friends and comrades. They had both, since they separated at Seringapatam, led active, stirring lives; and they now met again with enlarged experience, ripened judgment, and increased confidence in their own resources. There were many points of resemblance between them — more, perhaps, than were afterwards apparent. They were as nearly of the same age as they could be without being born on the same day. A quarter of a century later, in his general bearing and demeanor, Malcolm was apparently much the younger man of the two; but in 1803, Arthur Wellesley could respond to the geniality and playfulness of his friend, and enjoy a joke with as lively a relish. A man of thirty-four must have been indeed of a saturnine nature not to be infected by "Boy Malcolm's" good spirits. But they never laughed at a wrong time, or joked in a wrong place. They had serious business in hand, and were both impressed with a due sense of their respective responsibilities. Malcolm was the older soldier of the two—but he was only a major in the army, whilst Wellesley was a major-general. But diplomacy levels all ranks; and, as the representative of the Governor-General, Malcolm was at least the second man in Camp. It was soon determined between them that they would work on together. "A political agent," wrote Malcolm to the Commander-in-Chief*—and we may be sure that General Wellesley heartily agreed with him—"is never so likely to succeed as when he negotiates at the head of an army; and, in a crisis like the present, it appears indispensable to speedy and complete success,

* Camp, near Vingorla, March 24, 1803.

that the military operations and political negotiations should be conducted from the same point. Otherwise, we never can take full advantage of the various events which we must expect to arise in the course of an affair which involves such complicated interests as the present."

The force under General Wellesley pushed forward to Poonah with a rapidity which assured our friends and disconcerted our enemies. Alarmed by the approach of the British troops, Holkar had quitted the Mahratta capital, leaving a detachment of some fifteen hundred men there under the command of one of his lieutenants.* This man had purposed, or been instructed, to lay the city in ashes before the English could enter the streets; but the forced marches of Wellesley's light troops brought them to the gates of Poonah before the Mahratta chief could give effect to this design, and the capital of the Peishwah was saved. With this advanced brigade went Malcolm, whose letters, written from day to day, to Mr. Edmonstone and General Stuart, narrate clearly the progress of this remarkable march, and the circumstances attending the restoration of Badjee-Rao:

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*Without date.*—We are now within four marches of Poonah, and shall no doubt soon effect the restoration of Badjee-Row to his capital; but future success must depend as much upon that Prince's wisdom as upon our strength. There seems, at this moment, just reason to conclude that our very spirited operations will defeat the councils of our enemies, and that we shall effect our immediate objects without that formidable opposition which was threatened. But this is not certain, and it is proper that the case should be considered under every possible result. I have not been idle in doing this to the best of my ability, but I shall not send you any of the papers I have written. till I have Colonel Close's opinions, who will judge with a more

* Amrut-Rao. He was a member of the Holkar family, and had been appointed by him to act as Viceroy at Poonah.

correct view of circumstances, as far as relates to the Peishwah, than I possibly can. We have not been joined by all the Sirdars who were expected, and on whose co-operation the Peishwah depended. We have not required their assistance, and their absence is only to be regretted, as it affords a proof of their want of zeal and attachment in their master's cause. . . . . Colonel Stevenson will be on the Beemah, twenty miles from Poonah. The Nizam's troops will not be called out of their own territory unless it is absolutely necessary. I entertain a sanguine hope that we shall not proceed to hostilities, and if we do, I have no alarm as to the result.

[To General Stuart.]—*Camp, April* 15, 1803.—We are now certain of reaching Poonah, without any opposition—of re-establishing the Peishwah on the Musnud—of receiving our supplies from Bombay, and of having time to make such an arrangement of the force in this quarter as will enable us, in the event of hostilities, to act with advantage—and I do not entertain a doubt (should the Peishwah regulate his proceedings by our councils) that we shall defy the efforts of any combination which can be formed. But I am far from thinking such a combination certain. Scindiah and Holkar may unite; and the Bhoonsla may guarantee the league; but it does not follow that we shall be attacked. Scindiah may hope that such a formidable compact will alarm the Peishwah and the Nizam sufficiently to make them withdraw from the compact with the English, and that the latter Government may be deterred from pursuing a line of policy which is threatened by such an opposition. But if he finds the phalanx firm, and that the British nation is resolved to bring all its strength into action, he will hesitate before he enters upon a war of uncertain issue, and which must commence by the certain loss of his personal possessions.

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*Camp, Poonah,* 21*st April.*—We arrived here yesterday, after a march of forty miles, which our light troops would have performed with great ease had we not been obliged to pass a most difficult ghaut, which, though not half a mile in length, detained our guns five hours. After all, our damage does not exceed seven or eight horses and two or three tumbril wheels. We arrived several days before we were expected, and have probably saved the city from destruction by fire, or, at all events, from promiscuous plunder, which was to have taken place

after all the regular modes of extortion and robbery were exhausted. The spirited manner in which we arrived, the means which have been taken to give confidence to the inhabitants, and the steps which have been taken for the introduction of the Peishwah's authority, have already been attended with the happiest effects, and though it will be long before this city can recover the vast property of which it has lately been plundered, I have not a doubt of its being restored in a few days to a state of as much tranquillity as it has ever enjoyed. The General expects a person this morning from the Bhy-Sahebas, who are at Sewaghur, to whom he last night intimated his arrival. These ladies will give instructions for the authority they wish to be supported in the city, till the arrival of the Peishwah, and will probably send an officer of their own to take charge. (An answer is this moment arrived, and an officer from the Bhies, with a party to take charge of the town, is on his way from Sewaghur.) The General wrote a letter to Amrut-Row, signifying his approach to Poonah. He this morning received an answer from that Prince, who is now beyond Juneer, on his way to the northward. The answer is friendly and polite, and expresses an intention to depute a respectable person to communicate with the General on some points of importance. I wish much that means could be devised to detach Amrut-Row from the interests of Holkar. This defection would be of particular consequence at this period, and would deprive both that chief and Scindiah of an important instrument. We move from this towards the top of the Ghaut on the 23rd or 24th, and I shall see Colonel Close in all this month, and after a full communication with him, I shall give you my sentiments in the freest manner on the present state of affairs in this quarter.

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*Camp, Purnaleah, 1st May.*—I went to the head of the Bhora Ghaut, but returned on finding the Peishwah was not to be there before the 4th instant. He will not be in Poonah before the 8th. How provoking is this delay! We understand that Holkar has moved to Aurungabad, and threatens that town. General Wellesley has, in consequence, directed Colonel Stevenson to move in that direction, with a view of keeping him in check. If Scindiah does not advance from Boorhanpore, and Holkar continues his depredations, General Wellesley will advance to the Nizam's frontier with most of the force from Poonah. Everything will go right if we can make the Peish-

wah act as we wish, which we must find means of doing, or we cannot go on. Upon this subject I have sent Colonel Close some memoranda, which I will hereafter transmit to you. I am not certain but a strict adherence to the fundamental principles of our alliance with the Peishwah may require the modification or alteration of some of the conditions of the present treaty; and I should conceive it better to adopt such modifications than to depend on the constant exercise of our power for the benefits of the alliance, which we must do, unless it is rendered pleasant and palatable to some one of the interests of this divided empire. On this subject, however, I shall write fully when I see Colonel Close; and at present I can only assure you, that if we can make the Peishwah adopt some liberal measures, and obtain his pardon to some offenders and the restoration to favor of others, all of which I trust we shall accomplish, there is no doubt but we shall give this Government a form, in a very short time, which will disturb the measures of the threatened combination, and make the chiefs who compose it abandon all hope of defeating the present arrangement. The forward state of our military operations gives us incalculable advantages, and if they provoke us to action we shall (by the aid of a bridge of boats now making at Bombay) destroy numbers of them during the monsoon.

Do not persuade yourself, from my speaking so boldly, that I am inclined to such measures. On the contrary, I would preserve peace at the sacrifice of some advantages; but it is comfortable to possess such efficient means of meeting them in arms, should we be reduced by circumstances to that unfortunate necessity. . . . If Badjee-Row were at all practicable, I should have no fears, but I apprehend much difficulty from the weakness and depravity of his character. However, we have no children's play in hand, and must devise means of directing his councils, or of rendering ourselves independent of their operation. I have written to Webbe, begging he will request Lord Clive, in General Wellesley's name and my own, to suspend for a few days the introduction of the English authority into the ceded countries on the frontier, as much evil might arise from this step being taken before we had settled with the Peishwah what remuneration was to be made to those who lose their Jagheers and Jaidads by that cession, who, unfortunately, happen to be those by whom we have been most aided.

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*Camp, near Poonah, 5th May.*—Amrut-Row has sent me a long letter in answer to that of the General. It all ends in two propositions:

1st. That he and his friends may have a share of the Government. 2ndly. In event of the former not being complied with, that they may have a provision made for their support. He requires, whatever arrangement is made, that it should be guaranteed by the English General, in whose faith he professes unlimited confidence.

The Peishwah has at last ascended the Ghauts. General Wellesley and myself proceed to-morrow to meet him and Colonel Close. You shall hear shortly from me after our first interview. I have this day perused the letter to Lord Clive respecting General Wellesley's remaining in command of Mysore. The principles which are asserted in that letter will preserve untainted the province of Mysore, though it should be surrounded by villany and corruption. I am really anxious to return to my duties at that station, which are as delightful as they are important. The chief object of the Resident there has hitherto been, and will, I trust, long continue to be, to stimulate the Dewan to improve the state of the country and of its inhabitants, and to impress him strongly with the idea that his favor with the English Government is in proportion to the activity of his exertions in this pursuit. To prevent abuse, and to forward the views of the Dewan, a Resident ought to be seven or eight months every year in tents on continual circuit.

When Malcolm wrote this letter his health was giving way, and for some days he was incapacitated by illness. "Malcolm is not well, and is gone to Poonah," wrote General Wellesley to the Governor-General on the 10th of May; "but I have proposed to him to go to Bengal to point out to you the state of affairs in this quarter." Two days afterwards Malcolm himself wrote to Mr. Edmonstone:

"I am not sufficiently recovered from a severe attack of illness to be able to write you a long letter; but I send you voluminous enclosures of memoranda, which I have written at different periods, on the mode which it appeared best to pursue to prevent injury

to the public interests from the strange weakness or perverse conduct of the Peishwah. These papers were all given to Colonel Close, and both the Colonel and General Wellesley approve of the line of conduct suggested in the third memorandum. Though I am happy to add that the Colonel has hopes of the Peishwah's doing that which is right without obliging him even to give in so strong a remonstrance, General Wellesley has summoned one or two forts in the Concan which opposed the Peishwah's authority, and they have been instantly ceded. The first that disputes his Highness's authority, and refuses to surrender on the General's summons, will have a deputation of grenadiers from the 74th and 78th sent to them, and their Gaelic addresses will produce an excellent effect. The Peishwah is very sensible of the General's conduct, which has been invariably calculated to mark the nature of the alliance. There has been no interference with the Government, but a decided and spirited support has been always given to the Peishwah's authority, and the readiest attention and obedience has been always paid to his wishes and orders. I am well satisfied that the great point of keeping the Peishwah firm to his engagements will be effected, though it may at times be necessary to address him in very plain and decided language; and if we are sure of him, and can depend on his regulating his conduct upon the principles of the treaty, we may smile at the ill-assorted union of the northern chiefs, against whose efforts it is nevertheless our duty to take every possible precaution. On this point it is my intention to address his Lordship in a few days. General Wellesley will, I think, leave Poonah about the 22nd. I shall depart soon after; but whether I take a journey to Bombay, or return by General Stuart's army to Mysore, will depend upon the state of my health."

Ten days afterwards, being still at Poonah, Malcolm wrote a long letter to the Governor-General, in which he reviewed the state of Mahratta Politics, and especially commented on the character and conduct of the Peishwah, saying:

"The conduct of his Highness the Peishwah, since his arrival at Poonah, has evidently shown that the extraordinary delays

which protracted his return to his capital were wholly occasioned by his fears and his superstitions; and that whatever might have been the reluctance with which he originally entered into the present connexion with the English Government, he is now satisfied of the wisdom and policy of that measure, and trusts solely to the alliance with that nation to preserve him in security on the Musnud, which he has been enabled to reascend through the means of its great and spirited exertions. With these sentiments on the Peishwah's mind there will be little difficulty in prevailing upon him to act in conformity with the dictates of good faith and good policy, except such as arise out of the natural habits and confirmed prejudices of his personal character, and these will be overcome by the firmness and ability of the British Resident."

After some important observations on the temper of Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, and the course of conduct they were likely to pursue, he proceeded thus to state what had now become a hope, rather than a conviction, of the possibility of maintaining peace:

"I am still sanguine in the hope that the great measure of settling the Peishwah's Government will be accomplished without even the appearance of a war; but this happy result must obviously flow from a perseverance in the same spirited and manly policy which has advanced affairs to their present stage; and, above all, it seems necessary to take advantage of our forward state to press the several points of difference to an immediate issue, and it would be hazardous to return any of the British forces into quarters till the assembled armies of the Mahratta chiefs now on the Nizam's frontier either separate or are dispersed, after which the defence of this quarter may be safely left to the subsidiary corps at Poonah and Hyderabad, who will, when the alliance has had time to settle (with the aid of the forces at the Prince's capital, where they are now stationed), be fully equal to sustain any attack which can be made upon the territories which they are employed to defend.

"I have not presumed in this letter to offer your Excellency any opinion on the plan of military operations which it will appear advisable to pursue in the event of the English Government being forced by acts of aggression to enter upon hostilities with any

one, or all of the chiefs of the threatened confederacy. These operations will, fortunately for the British interests, be planned and conducted by officers in whose talents and knowledge I know your Lordship reposes unlimited confidence, and under their able guidance there remains not a doubt that any contest into which the English nation may on this occasion be brought, will early terminate in the establishment of the reputation of its arms on such a decisive ground of superiority as will enable your Lordship to accomplish with facility the great object of restoring perfect peace to this distracted empire, and by that measure securing the permanent tranquillity of the Peninsula of India."

On the 5th of June, Malcolm wrote (still from Poonah, and still in bad health*) to Captain Merrick Shawe, who had succeeded him as private secretary to the Governor-General:

"The General (Wellesley) marched yesterday, having exchanged one of his weakest Sepoy corps for the 78th Regiment, by which he has greatly increased his strength in the essential article of Feringhees. I am much recovered, and expect to follow him in three or four days. I have remained behind, not more with a view of recruiting strength than of adding my exertions to those of Colonel Close to push through this impracticable Durbar† some arrangements which are indispensable to the success of our affairs. . . . . The great object is now to bring Scindiah to a declaration. . . . . Should he declare himself hostile, it is of the utmost importance that we should attack him immediately; and General Wellesley will, I should hope, be able

* On the 26th of May he wrote from Poonah to Mr. Edmonstone: "I am interdicted by a doctor from the use of pen, ink, and paper. . . . . I am out of all temper with myself at being unwell at a moment like the present. However, everything will soon terminate prosperously and gloriously." On the 8th of June he wrote: "We are flogging this fellow (the Peishwah) through a performance of his treaty. I had the fever again yesterday, but expect the cool weather which is now setting in will enable me to go to Camp in a few days."

† In a subsequent letter, dated June 13, Malcolm thus alludes to the character of Badjee-Rao: "The Peishwah is, I believe, satisfied with our alliance; but he is slow, jealous, and indecisive, and it is impossible to carry such a character along with us in a course of wise, strong, and decisive measures."

to commence operations against him early in July, and to continue them through the monsoon."

On the 28th of June, Malcolm again found himself in General Wellesley's camp—"a little recovered of his illness." On the following day he had "a long consultation with the General." The conduct of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and the policy to be pursued towards those chiefs, were then discussed in all their bearings upon the momentous question of peace or war. As they sate there in Arthur Wellesley's tent, then "eight coss from Ahmednuggur," they asked each other what could be done with men so intent upon their own destruction as those confederate chiefs. The treaty of Bassein, founded as it was in equity and moderation, and concluded with the sincerest desire on the part of the British to preserve the peace of India, could be viewed with repugnance only by men in whose councils equity and moderation had no place, and to whom the peace of India was nothing in proportion to the self-aggrandisement for which they lusted. To Wellesley and to Malcolm both it seemed plain that neither the one chief nor the other would willingly give in his adhesion to the terms of the treaty. Six months had now passed since its conclusion, and still those two Mahratta princes gave answers to our demands which, from the language of evasion and deceit, were fast assuming that of insolence and defiance. Their conduct, too, was even less suggestive of peace than their words. They had formed a junction on the borders of the Nizam's country, and were evidently taking counsel with each other as to the best means of resisting the Feringhees. Colonel Collins, the Resident at Scindiah's Court, could obtain no satisfactory answer to his demands. It was plain, therefore, both to Wellesley and to Malcolm, that the time had

now come for the adoption of a decided course of conduct; that if Collins, within a given time, could not obtain satisfaction, he ought without further delay to leave Scindiah's Court, and that his departure thence should be the signal for the commencement of war. In anticipation of an unfavorable issue, General Wellesley had determined on his plan of operations. The first movement of the war was to be an attack on Ahmednuggur.* The month of July, however, found the great question undecided, and, as it wore on there was still no greater prospect of a solution. But on the 18th of July the General received from Lord Wellesley an official letter, written on the 26th of the preceding month, investing him with large political and military powers in the Mahratta country. The game was now in his own hands, and they were the best. On that same 18th of July, he instructed Colonel Collins to inform the confederate chiefs that unless they withdrew immediately from the Nizam's frontier war would be declared. The month, however, came to an end, and still the question was undecided. On the 1st of August the General wrote to Major Kirkpatrick: "The question whether there will be peace or war will be decided in a few days. I think that there is some reason to hope we may have peace—but we may be obliged to commence hostilities."

Whilst thus the month of July passed away, laden with painful doubt and anxiety, Malcolm was lying sick in Camp. A sore trial was upon and before him. The pressure of bodily infirmity condemned him to inaction, rendered him almost useless at a time when he earnestly desired to devote his best energies to the service of the

* "The day the General arrives at 'Nuggur," wrote Malcolm on the 4th of July, "he will send the cavalry to commence crossing the river, and he means to follow the moment the place falls, which he calculates will be in four or five days. The investment of Nuggur will be the signal of war."

State, and prevented him from taking part in achievements which he knew would shed lustre upon all who might be engaged in them. It was no slight ailment that could take Malcolm from his work or damp his spirits at such a time. He was suffering under a complication of disorders, and the severe treatment to which they subjected him.* There was enough in these disorders to engender a general depression of mind without the vexation attending the thought that they had come upon him in so important a conjuncture—on the eve, perhaps, of a great and glorious war. There were external annoyances, too, incidental to the circumstances of the moment, which aggravated his ailments and retarded his recovery. The precise official position which Malcolm at this time occupied in General Wellesley's camp it is not easy to describe. According to the *Gazette*, he was Resident at Mysore. By the particular instructions of Lord Wellesley, and in accordance with the wishes of the General, he was acting as the representative of the former and the political associate of the latter. His duties were not defined—nor, indeed, was it necessary to define them. He was sure to do his best, as the varying circumstances of the day dictated or suggested; and he was sure to temper his zeal with tact and discretion. But he was in a difficult, because in an anomalous, position; and his sickness increased the difficulty. Even General Wellesley, to whom large powers had been delegated, felt that they were inadequate to the responsibilities entailed upon him, and was

* On the 4th he wrote: "You will hardly be able to read this letter. I write in pain. To add to my other ills, I have some symptoms which make me think that my liver is affected." On the 7th he wrote again: "It has this day been decreed that I am to suffer a course of mercury for the liver. Pleasant enough!" On the following day, writing to Colonel Close, he said: "I have been very unwell with liver-complaint, for which I have begun a course of mercury. I have had a bowel complaint—my spirits begin to fail me. I feel incapable of holding out much longer in Camp against an accumulation of such disorders."

uneasy under the burden of the latter.* But Malcolm had in reality no power; and yet he felt that he was responsible to the Governor-General for any errors that might be committed or any failures that might occur.

Of this he soon became painfully conscious. At the beginning of the month of August he had emerged from the acute stages of his disorder, and written that he was "now recovered, though still very weak," and subject to "fever every night." His spirits had been very variable; but as the month advanced they would probably have recovered their old healthy tone, if before the end of the first week he had not received from Calcutta letters written both by the public and the private Secretary, expressive of Lord Wellesley's displeasure. The Governor-General had been greatly disturbed by an intimation received from Colonel Close to the effect that General Wellesley's force had been rendered incapable of movement by a deplorable want of carriage-cattle. No similar announcement having been made directly from General Wellesley's camp, it took the Government by surprise. The Marquis had relied upon Malcolm for information, and he was now both disappointed and angry at the failure. "His Excellency," wrote Captain Shawe in cypher, "requests that you will contrive to write daily from General Wellesley's camp. A few words will be sufficient. It matters not who writes, provided he states the situation and condition of the army. Lord Wellesley has received no accounts of General Wellesley's army, except through private channels, since it left Poonah. The General's official corre-

* *Major Malcolm to Colonel Close; July* 8, 1803: "It will be necessary to give the General your opinion in a letter to himself on any plan that may tend to bring matters to extremities, as he naturally feels most uneasy at the heavy responsibility now thrown upon him without adequate powers to act under it."

spondence, he is aware, is properly confined to General Stuart; but it is indispensably necessary that his Lordship should receive daily accounts of the movements of the army, the state of its equipments and supplies. A passage in Colonel Close's last letter disturbed his Lordship a good deal. Colonel Close states in his memorial to the Peishwah that, unless his Highness furnishes a supply of bullocks, the British army must fall back. His Lordship doubts the policy of informing the Peishwah that the British army is at his mercy. The declaration can only be justified by its being contrary to the truth, and by its being calculated merely to intimidate the Peishwah into more active measures. But in this case it ought to have been accompanied by some explanation to secure his Lordship's mind from the apprehension that the British army was actually in danger of suffering from distress. His Lordship is disposed to believe that the case is otherwise; but he is displeased at the omission which has caused him so much uneasiness, and which might have been productive of much mischief." At the same time, Mr. Edmonstone, according to his Excellency's directions, wrote to say that "he is surprised at not having received from you any explanation relative to the statement of General Wellesley's distress for bullocks, contained in Colonel Close's despatches. The state of uncertainty in which his Excellency is left by that unexplained statement has really occasioned him great anxiety of mind. Pray, my dear Malcolm, take care in future to communicate all circumstances with respect to the army, &c., of which it may be advisable for his Excellency to be informed."

To these reproofs, which Malcolm felt acutely, he replied:

"I shall not attempt to disguise from you the very serious concern it has given me to find from your letter that I have incurred his Lordship's displeasure, by concurring in a proceeding with the policy of which he is not satisfied, and by being guilty of an omission which has caused him uneasiness, and which might, he conceives, have been productive of much mischief.

"There is, perhaps, one reason for my feelings being more grieved upon this occasion than it was intended they should be, which is, my never having, during a period of nearly five years that it has been my pride to execute his Lordship's commands, been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure in the most trifling degree; but although I regret the occurrence, I by no means deny that the weakness of my judgment in one instance, and my culpable negligence in another, did not fully merit the censure which I have received.

"The peculiar delicacy of the situation in which I have acted during the campaign has made me most studious to observe a conduct which, whilst it gave offence to no person by even the appearance of interfering with his duties, should enable me to contribute, as far as my trifling aid could contribute, to the success of the public service. In pursuit of this line I have hitherto avoided (as you will see by my correspondence), all details of operations either in the field or the Cabinet; and have confined myself in my communications to remarks and opinions on principal events and general policy. But, at the same time that I observed this rule, I have never hesitated, when my opinion on any particular subject has been asked, to give it to the best of my ability; and the declaration which was given in to Badjee-Row by Colonel Close was given with my full assent and concurrence, conceiving as I did (perhaps erroneously) that it would either produce extraordinary exertions on the part of his Highness, or, on his remaining inactive, justify the British Government in having immediate recourse to those extreme measures which appeared (in such case) indispensable to the security of the British army. The Peishwah had never in the most trifling degree afforded any assistance to the army; and Colonel Close had written, a few days before, to General Wellesley that all his efforts had failed. The General in his answer, which was written after he had lost in six days upwards of 6000 bullocks, plainly stated

that as he had no right to expect the country round him would be able to replace his casualties, and as he had but a very few days' rice in his camp, that he must (should the Peishwah not perform his part of the treaty by sending some supplies) be under the necessity of detaching a small part of his force to reinforce Colonel Stevenson, and falling back with the rest towards Poonah. In this critical situation of affairs, it appeared, both to myself and Colonel Close, that the Peishwah should be called upon in a manner that would admit of no evasion, and in the event of his not exerting himself, that the extremity of the case would justify the most violent measures; and it was actually in contemplation to have seized by military force all the carriage-cattle at Poonah and its vicinity—which desperate expedient appeared, from General Wellesley's report of his own situation, to be the only one left that could be adopted in the event of the Peishwah's continued inertness, to enable the army to keep its position beyond the Burnuk. Fortunately, the return of fine weather, the unexpected success of General Wellesley's agents, who had been sent into the Nizam's country to purchase bullocks, and the little aid which the Peishwah was roused by Colonel Close's remonstrances to afford, gave a change to affairs, and the army was once more set up, though not before the troops had been obliged to live some days on wheat and other grains, their rice being all expended. I have stated one cause in the beginning of this letter for my not entering on details. There is another still stronger, which is my ignorance of numerous particulars necessary to render such information correct, and my fears of misleading by erroneous or incomplete statements. This applies more especially to everything connected with the supplies and equipment of an army that attempts to take the field during the monsoon. Its state varies every hour; and twenty-four hours sometimes make a deficiency of 1000 cattle. In short, it is an incessant struggle with difficulties that appear insurmountable, and which are only to be overcome by the most extraordinary efforts. It is, I am assured, from a wish of not keeping Lord Wellesley's mind in a state of continual anxiety, that General Wellesley has hitherto confined himself to general statements, and I have, as I said before, from ignorance, been afraid to touch the subjects. I shall, however, in future, be more attentive. This letter is longer than I intended,

and I have, perhaps, said more than I ought; but the state of my mind would not permit me to say less."*

How deeply Malcolm felt the reproof, this letter clearly shows; and one subsequently written to Mr. Edmonstone is equally expressive of his uneasiness under the disapprobation of one whom he so much loved and respected. But he had little time to dwell upon what was then the most distressing incident of his official career, for there was stirring work before him. On the 3rd of August, Colonel Collins had quitted Scindiah's Court. On the 6th, whilst Malcolm was writing the above letter, intelligence of this anticipated event reached General Wellesley's camp; and on the same day the great soldier wrote to Scindiah, saying, "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honorable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." He was already prepared to strike, and he struck, as predetermined, his first blow at Ahmednuggur. On the 8th, the outworks were attacked and carried; and on the 12th the British colors floated over the fort. Utterly broken down as Malcolm was at this time by the continued assaults of dysentery and fever, he would have been unable to take any very for-

* Much as Lord Wellesley's reproof stung Malcolm, they jested in Calcutta at the wound they were inflicting: "You have, I hope, received a *wig* in cypher," wrote Merrick Shawe, "which I was directed to send you on the 1st. I since learn that you received one in plain English from Edmonstone by the same dawk. The *double curl* to your wig is allowed to be too much; but great things and daily reports are expected from it. Lord W. says you deserved it for letting Colonel Close write without explanation." In a subsequent letter, replying to the one quoted in the text, the same writer says: "Lord Wellesley was concerned to find that my letter of the 15th of July had occasioned you so much uneasiness as it appears to have excited in your mind. He desires me to tell you, however, that it is only a fair return for letting a circumstance escape which you (who knew how anxious he is on such points) might have foreseen would have disturbed him extremely. I assured him I had written to you again on the subject to relieve your anxiety, which eased his conscience."

ward part in these operations, even if his position had warranted it. But he was usefully employed in drawing up an engagement by which Amrut-Row was detached from the Mahratta cause.* And having done this, he yielded at last to the solicitations of General Wellesley and other friends, and suffered himself to be carried out of Camp.

He soon began to revive. "I left Camp four days ago,"† he wrote on the 17th of August, "and whether it is the fine weather, the quiet I have enjoyed, or the relief from business, I know not, but I am much recovered, and am able to travel four hours in my palanquin, in which, on the day I left Camp, I could not travel two without bringing on both faintings and fevers." It does not seem that he encountered any adventures on his road; and at the beginning of September he was at Bombay in a greatly improved condition—so much improved, that he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, saying that he "expected soon to be quite stout again."

His recovery at Bombay was rapid. A few days after his arrival he found himself well able to take his place at the desk, and to bring up his arrears of correspondence. One of the first letters which he wrote was the following to Henry Wellesley, which is inserted not more for its allusions to Malcolm's recovery, than on account of the compendious narrative it contains of the progress of event in the Mahratta country:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY.

Bombay, Sept. 5, 1803.

My dear Wellesley,—Had I not resolved that I would let

* See *Wellington Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 906, 907, edition 1837.

† The Governor-General and all his staff were rejoiced to hear that Malcolm had quitted Camp. They were afraid that his life would be sacrificed to his zeal in the public service; and they wrote from Government House that the news of his departure from Camp was almost as good as that of Collins's departure from Scindiah's Court.

no opportunity escape of writing to you, I would not write by the vessel which sails to-day, as she is likely, on many accounts, to have a long passage. After ineffectual efforts (of the particulars of which you shall be informed) to maintain peace, the conduct of Ragojee Bhoonsla and Scindiah has forced us into war; and on the 8th of last month General Wellesley attacked Ahmednuggur, a fort belonging to Scindiah, which may be termed, both from its strength and position, one of the most important in the peninsula. It was taken in four days, though not without loss, which fell chiefly on our Europeans. The General immediately pushed across the river; and he is now operating in conjunction with Colonel Stevenson against Scindiah and the Bhoonsla, who are trying to penetrate with their cavalry into the Nizam's country. We yesterday received an account of the fall of Baroach to the Bombay troops, and the consequent subjection of all Scindiah's territories in Guzerat. General Lake was, by last accounts, prepared to move towards Coel the moment he heard hostilities were commenced; and I have no doubt he is, before this period, far advanced in the great and glorious work of destroying the last nests of French scoundrels in India. Colonel Campbell, with 3000 men, has entered Cuttack, and that valuable province will soon be annexed to our dominions. I cannot conceive how Scindiah and Bhoonsla purpose to repair the serious losses they have and must continue to sustain. They gain little by their predatory incursions; and as they have but few infantry and hardly any guns with them, they can make no serious impression on the countries they attack, while they are every moment exposed to defeat and ruin.

Holkar has not yet joined the confederacy, and I am inclined to hope he will not join it. The Peishwah is hitherto pretty firm; and we have a large body of Mahratta chiefs who are our professed friends, and will be sincerely so when they see that we are successful.

I am just arrived at Bombay, where I came to recover my health, which is already pretty well restored.* I left the General two days after his victory at Ahmednuggur, and mean to join him

* Writing two days afterwards to Arthur Wellesley, he says: "I am greatly recovered. For instance, I have been at my desk, writing letters to England, for six hours, and am not fatigued. I am not yet permitted to ride."

again the moment I can travel. I received letters yesterday from Bengal. The Marquis is in high health and in high spirits at the prospect of rooting out Monsieur Perron and his blessed brethren.

Excuse this hasty scrawl. I shall write to you by the overland despatch. After the Hamburgh manifesto, you surely cannot have a scoundrel in England with whom the war with Bonaparte is not popular.

I am, &c., &c.,
JOHN MALCOLM.

Whilst Malcolm was thus acquiring new health and new energy at Bombay, great tidings came to him from the Camp which he had recently quitted. In the above letter to Henry Wellesley he tells his correspondent in England how the General, at the date of the last advices, was looking after the enemy in Berar. That letter had not proceeded far on its destination before Arthur Wellesley had come up with the armies of Scindiah and Ragojee Bhoonsla, on the plains of Assye, and gloriously defeated the Mahratta confederates. The General announced this great event to his friend in the following brief, but characteristic, letter:

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Camp, Sept. 26, 1803.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—Colonel Close will have informed you of our victory on the 23rd. Our loss has been very severe, but we have got more than ninety guns, seventy of which are the finest brass ordnance I have ever seen. The enemy, in great consternation, are gone down the Ghauts. Stevenson follows them to-morrow. I am obliged to halt, to remove my wounded to Dowlatabad.

It is reported that Jadoon-Row is missing. They say that Scindiah and Ragojee are stupified by their defeat. They don't know what to do, and reproach each other. Their baggage was plundered by their own people, and many of their troops are gone off.

I return your letter. I send Mr. Duncan this day a copy of my letter to the Governor-General, in which you will see a detail of the action.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The bay horse was shot under me, and Diomed was kicked, so that I am not now sufficiently mounted. Will you let me have the grey Arab? I must also request you to get for me two good saddles and bridles.*

The tidings of this great victory—a victory which, in a congratulatory letter to Lord Wellesley, Malcolm described as one "which, in a military point of view, must be deemed the first ever gained in India, and which promises, in a political light, to be attended with consequences as important to British interests as the most brilliant of our former successes"†—stirred the very depths of Malcolm's heart. But his emotions were not all of a pleasurable kind. Great as was his delight in his country's and in his friend's success, he could not help feeling some regret at the thought that he had not been there to share the dangers and the honors of that memorable day. "It was a glorious day," he wrote to Henry Wellesley, "and I could dwell on its events for ever. My fate did not permit that I should share in the honors which every individual who fought on that field has acquired. During life I shall regret my absence. I

* Diomed was lost at Assye, but subsequently recovered by Malcolm. "I was this morning astonished," he wrote from Scindiah's Court on the 3rd of February, 1804, "at the sight of old Diomed, whom you lost at Assye. I, however, concealed my pleasure till by hard bargaining I had got him in my stable for 250 rupees. The fellow gave me your Gibson's bit into the bargain. The old horse is in sad condition, but he shall be treated like a prince till I have the pleasure of restoring him to you."

† "The news," adds Malcolm, "of this event, which gives joy to all, must convey to your Lordship's mind feelings of the most enviable nature; and the happiness you experience on hearing of this glorious deed must be doubled by the reflection of its having been achieved by a beloved brother."

am a good deal recovered; and set out to join the army in fifteen days."

In truth, he was growing impatient of inactivity—chafing under this continued absence from Camp, when such great events were being evolved, and such a harvest of honor was ripening on the fields from which his bodily ailments had unfortunately driven him. He was eager to put in his own sickle and share alike the labor and the reward. Prudent or imprudent, he was determined to leave Bombay. Before the end of the month of October he thus announced his intentions to the Governor-General:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO LORD WELLESLEY.

Bombay, Oct. 25, 1803.

My Lord,—I have much satisfaction in informing your Lordship that my health is sufficiently re-established to admit of my rejoining the army under Major-General Wellesley, and I leave Bombay with that intention the day after to-morrow. I have lamented, as a most serious misfortune to myself, my absence from the scene of glory in which the General has been engaged since my departure from Camp. But I anxiously hope it may still be my lot to witness his further achievements, which, combined with the highly brilliant and important successes in Hindostan (on which I offer your Lordship my heartfelt congratulations), must rapidly accelerate that period when your Lordship can conclude a peace on terms that will remove all apprehension of a future attack on the British power in India.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

John Malcolm.

So, on the 27th of October, Malcolm turned his back on Bombay, and started again for General Wellesley's camp.

CHAPTER X.

THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH.

[1803—1804.]

PROGRESS OF THE WAR—MALCOLM'S RETURN TO CAMP—HIS GENIAL PRESENCE—WATTEL PUNT—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—THE SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE—MISSION TO SCINDIAH'S CAMP—SCENE AT DURBAR—CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY—APPROVAL OF LORD WELLESLEY—DEATH OF MALCOLM'S FATHER.

THE autumn of 1803 was a season of intense excitement from one end of India to the other. To the English it was one of glorious excitement. Never had so many great successes been achieved within so small a circle of time. As Malcolm once more journeyed into the heart of the peninsula, "one news came huddling on another" of victory—and victory—and victory. Whilst Wellesley was operating triumphantly on the plains of Berar, Lake, with equal success, was breaking up the Mahratta power on the banks of the Jumna. Alighur, Delhi, Agra, had fallen before the battalions of the latter, and now, at Poonah, Malcolm learnt that the veteran commander had fought a great battle at Laswarrie, and routed the flower of Scindiah's disciplined troops. Boorhampore and Asseeghur had fallen before the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson; and then came tidings to the effect that General Wellesley had met the enemy

again, and disastrously beaten them at Argaum. It was palpable to Malcolm, as he proceeded onward to join Wellesley's camp, that nothing was left to the Mahratta confederates but to sue ignominiously for terms.

Indeed, they were already prostrate at our feet, and Malcolm knew that his services would be required to negotiate the peace for which they were pleading. But he was compelled to wait for some time at Poonah, until a sufficient escort could be collected to conduct him through the troubled country. "I am much better," he wrote from that city, "and trust the cold weather will soon restore me to such strength that I shall not even dream of such schemes as I wrote you about on my arrival at Poonah.* I await a convoy from the southward, which is expected in a few days, and shall then march to the army."

As he approached the neighbourhood of Wellesley's camp he was excited by the sound of distant firing. Something was evidently going on. He was eager, therefore, to push forward, and take, if he could, an active part in it. At Anjengaum he sent his bearers in advance, with the following hurried note to Captain Barclay, the Adjutant-General of Wellesley's force:

Anjengaum, Dec. 15.

DEAR BARCLAY,—I send the bearers to discover the direct route to head-quarters; return them instantly, and tell me in a note what you are doing. We have heard a severe fire of cannon and musketry between nine and ten, which we conclude was the storm, and, from the fire ceasing, we further conclude it has been successful. God grant it.

Yours,
JOHN MALCOLM.

The note was put into the General's hand, and he said

* The scheme was a mission to England, of which subsequent mention will be made.

that he would answer it himself. So, turning over the page, he wrote on the other side of Malcolm's manuscript:

We have taken the fort without much loss. I am this instant returned from thence, and have opened this letter. I don't detain the bearers a moment, and send them back to you. God bless you, my dear Malcolm. I long to see you.

Ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

I believe you will be able to join to-morrow, as I think Anjengaum is not more than sixteen miles; at all events, it is not more than that from the cavalry camp at Baurgaum, four miles from hence.

The place which Arthur Wellesley, aided by General Stevenson, had just taken, was Gawilghur. Malcolm had pushed on with all possible despatch, but he was not in time to be present at the capture. "I arrived in Camp two days ago," he wrote on the 18th of December, "a few hours after Gawilghur came into our possession. The most important news is, that a treaty was this morning signed between the Bhoonsla and the English Government by General Wellesley on one part, and the Wakeel of the Rajah of Berar, on the other. It is gone to the Bhoonsla; he is allowed eight days to refuse or confirm it."*

* The hopes and expectations of returning health which Malcolm had expressed at Poonah, were but of brief continuance. In this letter he wrote neither in good health nor good spirits. There had been some talk of summoning him to Calcutta, and now he wrote to Major Shawe: "With regard to myself, I am highly flattered by Lord Wellesley's intentions of bringing me round to Bengal with the Persian Ambassador, when he arrives. But the fact is, I find that my health has so completely failed, and I am so thoroughly convinced that my complaints are radical, and unlikely to give way without a serious change of climate, that I rather wish at this moment to revive the hints I gave you of my plans from Poonah. I shall continue to do my utmost till the war is over; and on the settlement of

Malcolm's arrival in Camp was like a sudden burst of sunshine. He pitched his tent in the near neighbourhood of head-quarters, and his presence was welcome in the extreme to the General's Staff. Upon Wellesley himself an immense weight of responsibility had been thrown, and the labors of his double office pressed heavily upon him. When not engaged with his military duties, he was writing in his private tent those letters and despatches, the recorded number and variety of which are as illustrative of the laboriousness as of the genius of the man. The few preceding months, laden as they had been with serious work and heavy responsibility, had aged and solemnised his outer bearing, whilst they developed the great qualities of his mind. Something of this gravity communicated itself to his associates. Much work and much thought imparted a sombre tint to the social aspects of life at Wellesley's head-quarters. There was little form or ceremony, but there was less vivacity. The party that assembled at table in the evening were generally weary with the labors of the day, and there was little or nothing to rouse and animate them. Unless there was something of unusual interest to excite him, the General spoke little at table. Grave and taciturn, he was brooding over the weighty matters which depended so much for a satisfactory adjustment upon his own personal energy and skill.

Great and immediate, therefore, were the social results of Malcolm's appearance in Camp. Half a century has not effaced the recollection of its cheering and inspiriting effects. He was delighted to find himself again among old friends, and again on the scene of action. Imperfect

peace with all parties, I should be most proud if I were made the messenger of the glad and glorious tidings to Europe; and it would be my most anxious endeavour to convey home a budget that should satisfy even Leadenhall-street that the political benefits of the peace were equal to the glorious actions of the war."

as had been the restoration of his strength, and subject as he even then was to occasional depression of mind, he seemed to be, on his first arrival, in the enjoyment of high health and overflowing spirits. He had much to ask, and much to tell. There was a continual flow of lively conversation in his tent. He was accessible to friends and to strangers—to Europeans and to natives. Every morning, at breakfast and after breakfast, there was a social gathering within or without the canvas-walls of his home, when there was good cheer and amusement for all who sought it. The Arab horses he had brought round from Bombay were then brought out and exhibited—or, amidst a brisk explosion of jokes at the starving condition in which he had found his friends, his supplies of wine and beer and other generous commodities were opened out and distributed. When the larger circle of his acquaintance had gradually dispersed and he found himself in his tent with a few more-intimate associates, he would still rattle on, with the same unfailing flow of animal spirits, now discoursing on the grave politics of the day, now on lighter topics; sometimes reading aloud elaborate state papers, sometimes sentimental or ludicrous verses of his own composition—but always ready to break off at a moment's notice to attend to some matter of business, or to greet a visitor, European or native, with befitting dignity or with genial welcome, as the occasion required. His native visitors he was wont always to receive not only with unfailing courtesy, but with that thorough understanding of the character and circumstances of each individual, which I believe Malcolm possessed in a greater degree than any of his cotemporaries. One he would address with an elaborate compliment; another with a well-directed pleasantry—each according to the particular humor of the man; and he seldom failed to send them away gratified

with the manner of their reception, and well pleased with themselves.

But great as were his social qualities—unfailing as was his flow of hearty animal spirits—Malcolm never forgot what was due to the public service. His business at this time was done by snatches, but it was done thoroughly and conscientiously. No one ever did so much work with so little display. It was one of his peculiar characteristics, that, being continually engaged in public affairs, he was, of all the distinguished functionaries of whom I have ever read, the least *affairé*. And it might almost have been supposed by those who knew him at this period of his career without being cognisant of the result of his labors, that it was his especial vocation to amuse the inmates of General Wellesley's camp. In after life, he used to tell his assistants who applied to him for instructions, that the first thing they had to do was to keep every one in good humor. He knew that not the least important part of public business is that which does not bear the name.

It has been said that a term of eight days was allowed for the ratification or rejection of the treaty submitted to the Rajah of Berar. On the seventh, it was returned duly ratified, and on the same morning the principal Ministers of Scindiah—for the two chiefs, though they fought side by side, treated separately for peace—presented themselves in the English camp.

Already for some time had Scindiah's Wakeels been in attendance upon General Wellesley, but the negotiations had made but little progress until Wattel Punt, the Maharajah's Prime Minister, made his appearance on the 23rd of December.* He was a man far ad-

* He was attended by Moonshee Kavel Nyn, a man of some note at Scindiah's Durbar; but Wattel Punt was the prime negotiator.

vanced in years, but of unbroken energy, and formed both by nature and habit for diplomatic address. His self-command was wonderful. He had a sour, supercilious, inflexible countenance, in which no penetration could ever discern a glimpse of feeling. He wore, indeed, an impenetrable mask. The most startling demand or the most unexpected concession was alike received without the motion of a muscle. Malcolm said of him that he never saw a man with such a face for the game of *Brag*. From that time Wattel Punt was known by the name of "Old Brag" in the British camp. And years afterwards, when Malcolm met General Wellesley, then the Duke of Wellington, in Europe, and the conversation one day turned upon the characters of the great men of France, the latter, when questioned regarding Talleyrand, replied that he was a good deal like "Old Brag"—but not so clever.

On the day following the arrival of Wattel Punt, there was a grand conference in the General's tent, when the great question of peace, and the conditions on which the English Government could consent to make it, were fully discussed. That Government was represented by General Wellesley and Major Malcolm. A third English diplomatist was also present, and took part in the negotiations. The two whom I have named were young men. The third was some ten years younger. Mountstuart Elphinstone had first gone to the Mahratta country, a few years before, as an assistant to Colonel Close at Poonah; and so rapid had been the growth of his knowledge and experience, and such were the early evidences of those rare diplomatic and administrative powers which subsequently placed him in the first rank of Indian statesmen, that he was selected, on the departure of Malcolm to Bombay, to be General Wellesley's political assistant. In that capacity, having joined the

General's camp at Ahmednuggur, he had been a participator in all those great military operations which had laid the foundation of Arthur Wellesley's renown, and had brought the Mahratta chiefs as suppliants to the feet of the English General. Young as he then was, he had negotiated, under General Wellesley's instructions, the treaty with the Rajah of Berar, and had been appointed to represent British interests at that prince's Court, until Mr. Webbe, who had been nominated as Resident, could join his appointment at Nagpore. He now remained in Camp only until the negotiations with Scindiah's agents were brought to a close.

The first day's discussions gave good promise of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. The next was Christmas-day (in what strange places and under what strange circumstances do our Indian exiles celebrate the great Christian festival!), and Malcolm spent no small part of it in writing a long letter to Major Shawe,* relating to the negotiations of the preceding day:

"The Wakeels of Scindiah," he said, "had yesterday a long audience, and if their declarations are to be believed, we shall soon have a peace with their chief. They made general overtures towards defensive engagements, which were encouraged; but it has been found expedient to separate the treaty, which stipulates for the cessions in Hindostan, Guzerat, and the Deccan, and which re-establishes peace between the two States, from the subsidiary alliance; and in the treaty which is to be proposed for the Maharajah's immediate signature, there is an article to the following effect:—'That as the Maharajah has declared his wish to be connected with the Honorable Company in defensive engagements, he is to be hereafter admitted to the benefits of the alliance

* Or, in reality, to the Governor-General. Even General Wellesley addressed his private letters to the Governor-General's private secretary; but after some time Lord Wellesley asked his brother why he did not address them directly to *him*. Upon this, Arthur Wellesley wrote to "my dear *Mornington*," as if he were unwilling to cease from the old familiar style of address.

which subsists between the British Government and the Soubah, &c., &c. A treaty is be formed as soon as possible, and the English Government agree (with a view to provide for the future security of the Maharajah's Government) to furnish for his defence a force of six battalions, &c., &c., which force is to be paid out of the revenues of the countries ceded by Scindiah at the conclusion of the war.' This separation of the two engagements appears to me highly politic. The treaty of peace is one which must be pressed upon his acceptance at the point of the bayonet. The subsidiary arrangement should be the result of persuasion; and to secure its beneficial operation, it is, perhaps, necessary that it should not be forced."

On the 30th of December, the "treaty of peace between the Honorable English India Company and their allies on the one part, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah on the other," was concluded by the representatives of the two Governments.* Its conditions were those which Malcolm had recommended. Indeed, General Wellesley had modified his original plan in accordance with opinions which his friend had expressed in a memorandum forwarded to Camp some weeks before. It only remained now that Scindiah himself should ratify the Treaty of Peace; and of this little doubt existed. This done, Malcolm was to proceed to Scindiah's camp to conclude a supplementary treaty for the establishment of a subsidiary force in the Maharajah's dominions. On the first day of the new year he wrote to Major Shawe, saying:

"We are daily expecting the arrival of the treaty from Scindiah's camp, ratified by that chief. I am prepared to start for his camp, where, however, I shall probably not sojourn long. Strachey will join me first; and I think it not improbable but

* The treaty will be found in the Appendix. It was ratified immediately by Lord Wellesley, with, as he said, "the utmost satisfaction." "It is," he wrote in a private letter, "a glorious and brilliant termination to the war, and equal to the lustre of the campaign."

that Webbe may be eventually requested by the General to proceed to Scindiah's instead of to the Bhoonsla's Durbar. That arrangement must, however, depend upon a variety of circumstances. If I should be sent to England, I should be anxious to make people there understand the revolutions which have taken place in the Mahratta Empire since the treaty of Salbhye; for that is the date at which anything like general information of the Mahrattas terminates. I have got everything necessary for this except the correspondence of Mr. James Anderson, Colonel Kirkpatrick, and Colonel Palmer, from Hindostan, respecting the progress of Madajee Scindiah's army in that quarter, after the peace of Salbhye. Tell Edmonstone to send me an abstract of that correspondence, if possible. Any of the boys* will write it for me."

A few days after this was written, Malcolm started, in very feeble health,† for Scindiah's camp, near Boorhanpore. He took with him a memorandum, drawn up by General Wellesley, in which the objects of the mission, and the difficulties with which, in all probability, he would have to contend, were set forth in a manner which evinced the clearest possible understanding of the temper of Scindiah's Court.‡ "The principal features in the

* The "boys" were the young civilians in Lord Wellesley's office—Bayley, Metcalfe, Monckton, Forbes, &c., &c.

† On the 8th of January he wrote to Lord Lake: "The state of my health is so very precarious, that I fear I shall not be able to remain much longer in the field. I do not, however, mean to quit my present duties till I am relieved by some person whom Major-General Wellesley conceives to be equally adequate to the charge."

‡ The memorandum was the result of several conversations between Malcolm and the General. The latter, in forwarding it, wrote:

"*Camp, Jan.* 7, 1804.—I enclose you a memorandum upon certain subjects to which I wish to draw your attention during your residence at Scindiah's Durbar. The topics in this memorandum have been the subject of many discussions between you and me, but I have put them in this form in order to recall them to your recollection, and that I might lay my sentiments before the Governor-General, to whom I shall send a copy of this memorandum." A week afterwards the General wrote again on the subject, in consequence of the receipt of letters from the Governor-General: "Both by this paper and by Shawe's letter," he says, "a copy of which will go to you to-morrow morning, it appears that the Governor-General is very anxious upon the subject of the subsidiary alliance. By Shawe's letter

treaty of defensive alliance," it was said, "are the subsidiary force in the territory of our ally; the engagement of our ally to have no communication with any foreign power, excepting with our knowledge, and to be guided by our advice in his foreign relations; and the aid to be derived from our ally upon the occasion of war." "It is my opinion," added the General, "both from the nature of Scindiah's Government and from what passed in the conference with the Wakeels, that the only point to which Scindiah will have any objection is that fixing the force within his territories." And then he proceeded to argue, in a very convincing manner, that, viewed even from the English side, there were more objections to such a location of the subsidiary force than advantages in it, and to express his belief that the Governor-General would authorise the deviation recommended from the original plan when he came to consider all the circumstances of the case.

Fortified with these instructions, Malcolm reached the Mahratta camp on the 11th of January, and on the 12th was presented to Scindiah. He had seen much of Oriental Courts, but never, perhaps, before or after, in all his manifold experiences, had he to report so strange a scene as that which inaugurated his negotiations with the young Mahratta Prince. "We were well received," he wrote to General Wellesley, "by the Maharajah, who is a good-looking young man. He preserved great gravity when we first went in; and probably we might have left him without seeing that his gravity was affected, had not a ridiculous incident moved his muscles. A

he appears to insist upon the admission of the force into the country as necessary. The more I consider this subject, the more convinced I am of its impolicy, nay, of its impracticability at present. But I think you will do well to settle the treaty in the manner the Governor-General wishes it. Probably you may be able to arrange to exclude Europeans entirely, excepting with the permission of the Governor-General."

severe shower took place whilst we were in his tent. The water lodged on the flat part of the tent, under which Mr. Pepper was seated, and all at once burst in a torrent upon his head. From the midst of the torrent we heard a voice exclaim, '*Jesus!*'*—and soon after poor Pepper emerged. The Maharajah laughed loud, and we all joined chorus. A shower of hail followed the rain, and hailstones were brought in and presented in all quarters. My hands were soon filled with them by the politeness of Dowlut Rao and his Ministers; and all began to eat, or rather to drink them. For ten minutes the scene more resembled a school at the moment when the boys have got to play than an Eastern Durbar.† We parted in great good humor; and, as far as I can judge from physiognomy, every one in Camp is rejoiced at the termination of hostilities."‡

* "Mister Pepper begs permission to deny the 'Jesus,' though he is free to confess the sousing."—J. M.

† This incident greatly amused General Wellesley, who wrote an account of it to the Governor-General, in which he says: "It rained violently, and an officer of the escort, Mr. Pepper, an Irishman (a nephew of old Bective's, by-the-by), sate under the flat of the tent, which received a great part of the rain which fell. At length it burst through the tent upon the head of Mr. Pepper, who was concealed by the torrent that fell, and was discovered after some time by an 'Oh Jasus!' and a hideous yell. Scindiah laughed violently, as did all the others present; and the gravity and dignity of the Durbar degenerated into *a Malcolm riot*—after which they all parted on the best terms."—[*Wellington Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 701.]

‡ In this letter Malcolm says: "My health does not improve. I am plagued still with the pain in my side, for which I mean to administer another blister. However, I do not expect much relief. My most sanguine hopes now are that I may be able to go through my duties here to your satisfaction, and in a manner that will meet his Excellency's approbation, for a month—or till I am relieved. Send Strachey on to help me as fast as possible." It appears from General Wellesley's letters that Malcolm's friends had even a worse opinion of his case than he had himself. The General wrote to Major Shawe on the 14th of January: "I believe that Malcolm wrote to you to propose that he should be sent to England with the Governor-General's despatches upon the peace. I think this will be an advisable measure. At all events, Malcolm must go to England. His health is entirely gone, and the medical people think that his remaining in this country will be attended with danger. He is at present entirely incapable of doing business, and he was knocked up by what he had to do in this camp when Elphinstone went away; so that to detain him will be useless."

The negotiations proceeded slowly. It was difficult to bring the Mahratta politicians into anything like a straightforward, consistent line of action. There was a mixture of childish ignorance and simplicity with the cunning and dissimulation of veteran intriguers, which vexed and embarrassed Malcolm. "I am a good deal annoyed," he wrote on the 26th of January, "at the slow progress of my negotiations, particularly as I have now a glimpse of health, which enables me to do a little business, and which I know by experience cannot last above a few days longer." On the 30th he wrote privately to Mr. Edmonstone: "You will see from my public despatch of this date the state in which the negotiation stands. I hope I shall be able to bring it to a satisfactory issue; but I have learnt never to be sanguine in my expectations of either sincerity or consistency in a Mahratta." A day or two afterwards a new difficulty arose. Scindiah fell sick, and the negotiations were thrown back again.* But a favorable change soon took place. Malcolm was admitted to the sick room of the young Prince, and found him—mollified perhaps by illness—in a temper which seemed to promise well for a satisfactory adjustment of the business in hand. "I went to see Scindiah last night," he wrote to General Wellesley on the 3rd of February, "and am sorry to say that he is still in a very low state. He could not rise from his bed above two or three minutes at a time, and spoke with hesitation and difficulty. His fever has, however,

* On the 1st of February, Malcolm wrote to General Wellesley: "I have received yours of the 26th, and am glad to find you approve of the treaty, which I hope to persuade this Court to accept, though they are evidently lukewarm. The Maharajah has been very ill. Kistna, who saw him last night, says he is a perfect skeleton of what he was on our arrival." On the same day he wrote to Colonel Dowdeswell, giving a dreadful picture of the state of Scindiah's camp: "The distress in this camp is at present great. Numbers die daily from want, and I see no prospect of any speedy relief. . . . The army are all in a state of mutiny for their arrears."

left him, and he will probably recover fast. The visit was very satisfactory. I obtained his consent to an arrangement by which I trust a complete end will be put to these vexatious disputes about unpaid contributions."

Ten days afterwards Malcolm reported that the Maharajah was recovering, and that the negotiations were proceeding, slowly but satisfactorily:

. . . . . "I have now," he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, "a prospect of the negotiation of the subsidiary alliance being carried on in earnest, as the Maharajah is much recovered, and a change has taken place in his councils which promises well to his Government and to the increase of friendship between it and the British nation. I have great hopes of effecting an arrangement on the 7th article of the treaty of peace, which will give us a decided and permanent influence at his Court. I have had a long discussion upon the subject with the Ministers; but all is, I believe, now settled to my wishes, thanks to their distresses, which have made some of the very highest of the chiefs at this Court more pleased than could have been expected. I shall grant to the principal Sirdars, whose names the Maharajah will send me to-morrow, *sunnuds* (grants) for the amount of fifteen lakhs, payable by the Company's Government in land or in cash, at the pleasure of that Government; and I mean to grant bills to a certain amount for the immediate relief of some of the chief Sirdars in Camp who are sunnud holders. These sunnuds will only be for the life of the individuals to whom they are granted; they will be made liable to forfeiture on the party rebelling against D. R. Scindiah, or acting hostilely against the British Government. At least, this is the mode in which I have drafted them, and I have every reason to think it will be approved. The moment this article is carried into complete execution, and the Sirdars of this Court have tasted its sweets (which I mean they shall do by anticipation), the British Government will have the most powerful tie upon this State, the chief offices of which will always form a considerable and the most certain part of their revenue, depending on the continuance of the friendship between the two Governments."

His difficulties, however, were not over. There were contending parties at Court, and there was a general scramble for the benefits derivable from the treaties with the British. The Maharajah thought less of business than of pleasure; and the chiefs were taking advantage of his apathy to serve themselves instead of the State. After long consultations they drafted a treaty of their own—to what purpose, and with what effect, may be gathered from the following letter:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Camp, Feb. 20, 1804.

My dear General,—I enclose a letter from Shawe, with my answer. I sincerely wish you could go to Bengal. But under present circumstances it is impossible for you to leave the Deccan. Webbe should hasten to this Court, where he will find scope for all his exertions. They are a strange set. I received yesterday the fruit of their long consultations in the draft of a treaty of nineteen articles: so great a jumble of nonsense was never collected into a regular form. They had altered almost all the expressions, and some of the most essential principles of the treaty I gave them. They had added all the Memorandum of Requests which Bappoo gave you on leaving Camp; and each of them they wished me to agree to as an article of the defensive treaty; and the last and most important article of this admirable treaty was, that the English Government agreed out of respect for the *firman* of the King—out of regard for the tribe of the Peishwah —out of friendship for the Maharajah, and with a view to increase its own reputation among the natives of the country, to allow no cows to be killed in Hindostan.

I have treated this jumble with every attention. I have, to gratify them, introduced what I could, without sacrificing any of the principles of the alliance, and I am preparing an answer, article by article, to the whole. I trust I shall be able to convince them, and to persuade them to adopt something very similar to the draft of the treaty which I before transmitted for your perusal. I have, however, been a good deal shaken in my confidence by

the draft I have received; and I think I can trace in it the hand of intrigue. The fact is, at a moment when two different parties are fighting for the conduct of the administration, it is to be expected that every measure will be opposed and obstructed. Though I mean to be as conciliatory as possible, I shall, nevertheless, be very firm and explicit; and by such means I shall at least bring them to a clear and distinct line of proceeding in a very few days.

It is becoming intolerably hot; but I am, on the whole, a little better than I have been for some time past. The Maharajah is again pretty well. He was to have paid me a visit to-day; but he got an account of a tiger nine miles off, so he sent to request I would admit of the visit being put off till to-morrow, and if I were well enough, to come and help him to kill the tiger. I told him I was afraid to venture in the sun, but should pray for his success, and, to ensure it, sent him my large rifle-gun as a present.

I am, my dear General, yours most sincerely,

J. M.

The expectations expressed in these letters were not falsified by the result; and eight days afterwards Malcolm forwarded to Government a copy of the treaty. Its conclusion spread great joy through Scindiah's Court. In the fulness of his delight, the young Prince himself determined to celebrate the occasion by a frolic, to which Malcolm was not a man to object. "I am to deliver the treaty to-day," wrote the latter to General Wellesley, "and after that ceremony is over, to play *hooley*,* for which I have prepared an old coat and an old hat. Scindiah is furnished with an engine of great power by which he can play upon a fellow fifty yards distance. He has, besides, a magazine of syringes, so I expect to be well squirted."

* This consists in throwing red powder and squirting colored water over every passer by. The sport did Malcolm no good. He wrote to Major Shawe that "the cursed hooley play" had given him a sharp attack of fever.

Malcolm had not long despatched the treaty to the Governor-General before painful doubts began to assail him. He knew that he had done his best; he believed, too, that what he had done was the best that could be done for his country. But it was possible that Lord Wellesley might take a different view of the expediency of the course he had adopted, and certain that, taking it, his Lordship would refuse to ratify the treaty. The position of an envoy at such a Court as Scindiah's, with limited powers and great responsibilities, at an immense distance from the seat of Government, compelled to shape his measures in accordance with circumstances rather than with principles, and yet knowing that the superior authorities are disposed to try them by the touchstone of theories which cannot be applied to them without error and without injustice, is an embarrassing and unenviable one. It was one of Malcolm's maxims—the first, indeed, which I find recorded in the pages of his common-place book—that "a man who flies from responsibility in public affairs is like a soldier who quits his rank in action. He is certain of ignominy, and does not escape danger." He acted, indeed, in all such cases as though he were himself the supreme human judge of his conduct—as though his measures were sure to be approved. His errors, therefore, were all on the side of boldness and decision. On the present occasion, his subsidiary treaty narrowly escaped the rejection of Lord Wellesley—how narrowly may be gathered from the following letter, and the manly answer which it evoked:

MR. EDMONSTONE TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Calcutta, Feb. 26, 1804.

My dear Malcolm,—Your official letter, No. 4, dated 30th ultimo, has just been received; and I have received your private

letter of the same date. His Lordship, deeming it necessary to furnish you with instructions on the subject of that despatch with the least possible delay, has directed me to communicate them summarily in a private form without losing a moment. Official instructions will follow as speedily as possible. His Lordship objects entirely to the 11th article of the treaty. He thinks the stipulation which authorises Dowlut Rao Scindiah to muster our forces utterly inadmissible, and the authority to muster his own of little or no importance.

The establishment of the subsidiary force within Scindiah's territory is extremely desirable, but need not be a *sine quâ non*. The alternative which you have proposed, that Scindiah should cede Champaneer, Godree, and Dohud, appears to his Lordship to be impracticable. His Lordship cannot devise any territory which we could relinquish in exchange for those districts. To the alternative of increasing the subsidiary force his Lordship has no objection, provided funds be found for the payment of it; otherwise his Lordship thinks it would have the effect of manifesting a design on our part to establish a complete control over Scindiah's Government.

His Lordship trusts that you will not have concluded the treaty with Scindiah in its present form. If you should have concluded it, you must be prepared for his Lordship's rejection of it. On the subject of ratification, his Lordship directs me to remark that you appear to engage absolutely by the terms of the treaty that it shall be ratified within a certain space of time. His Lordship hopes, however, that this engagement will be considered merely as conditional, and not as precluding his Lordship's option to ratify or reject it. If the treaty should arrive executed in its present form, another treaty will be here prepared with the necessary modifications, ratified, and transmitted to you for Scindiah's acceptance.

You have allowed a space too short for the return of the ratified treaty. Your present despatch has been twenty-seven days in coming, so that it would not be possible to return a ratified treaty within the space of fifty. It should be extended to sixty-five or seventy days.

Yours ever sincerely,

N. B. EDMONSTONE.

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE.

(*Private and confidential.*)

Camp, near Boorhanpore, March 18, 1804.

My dear Edmonstone,—I have received your letter of the 26th ultimo. The stipulations of the 11th article, which you inform me his Lordship considers as inadmissible, are not in the treaty which I have executed. Their omission I shall ever consider a most fortunate occurrence, as I certainly was not, at the time I offered them to the acceptance of this Court, aware of their impropriety.

The endeavours which I originally made to obtain Champaneer, Godree, and Dohud, were in consequence of instructions from General Wellesley. The subsequent expedients which I devised to effect that object were prompted by a strong, though perhaps erroneous, impression upon my mind of the great importance of the provinces in a military point of view: that I failed in my exertions to effect their transfer to the Company's authority was at the moment a subject of as severe disappointment as it is now of sincere joy.

From the stipulations of the 15th article of this treaty of peace, I certainly thought that, if Dowlut Row Scindiah did not accept the terms on which the defensive alliance was offered in two months, that he forfeited the advantages he was otherwise to derive from that article. If he did accept them (as they were offered) within that period, it followed, in my opinion, that he by that act established a right to those advantages which never afterwards could be disputed, however much the English Government might condemn the conduct of the person who was employed. Under such impressions I proceeded, in the full conviction that any treaty I made would be ratified, and I never gave this Court the most distant cause to expect the contrary; and I am convinced that if I had, the alliance would not now have been concluded. I was fully aware, when I was appointed to negotiate this treaty, of the heavy responsibility that I incurred; and that responsibility was much increased by the uncertainty of communication with General Wellesley during the latter part of the negotiation, a circumstance which deprived me of the benefit of

his instructions on several points on which I was anxious to receive it. I nevertheless ventured to conclude the treaty in the form it now has. The difference between it and engagements of a similar nature (which I knew Lord Wellesley had approved) did not appear to me of sufficient consequence to warrant my risking the success of the negotiation. As far as I could understand, none of those principles which it is essential in such alliances to maintain were sacrificed, and no points were admitted that could operate injuriously to the interests of the British Government.

I may, however, be mistaken, and there may be a thousand objections to the alliance even as it now stands, which my stupidity has made me overlook. If such is the case, it will, I conclude, be disapproved, and the treaty will not be ratified. On such an event occurring, the exclusive blame of this proceeding must attach to the agent employed to negotiate it, of whom it will be charitable to remark, that he was more distinguished for boldness and zeal than for prudence and judgment.

I am, my dear Edmonstone,

Yours ever sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Although the particular objections made at Calcutta to the treaty had been removed, by accident rather than by design, and although Malcolm had therefore reason to rejoice in this especial escape, he could not help feeling upon how slight a thread the ratification of the engagements into which he had entered with Scindiah's Court really depended. The Governor-General, indeed, stood prepared, with pen in hand, to cancel them without compunction. And what he declaredly would have done on one special ground of complaint, he might do upon some other. It was no small relief to Malcolm, therefore, to receive the following letter from Lord Wellesley's private secretary:

MAJOR MERRICK SHAWE TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Calcutta, March 22, 1804.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—The duplicate of your subsidiary

treaty was received this morning through Hindostan. I have the most sincere pleasure in telling you that it meets his Excellency's approbation in every point.

His Excellency means, if possible, to write to you this evening with his own hand, to express his decided approbation of your conduct and of your excellent treaty. As it is possible, however, that he may be prevented from writing himself, I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches, and to assure you that the treaty is considered by his Excellency to accomplish every object which he had in view, to be highly creditable to your character, zeal, and talents, and to confirm all the advantages obtained by the war, and by the general pacification. It will be ratified to-morrow, and copies will go by land and sea to Europe to-morrow night. Once more I congratulate you.

Yours ever,

MERRICK SHAWE.

At the same time a letter, couched in equally commendatory and congratulatory terms, was received from the public secretary, in which Malcolm read with no common satisfaction these reassuring words:

"Under all the circumstances of the case, his Excellency in Council entirely approves all the stipulations of the treaty of subsidy and defence which you have concluded with Dowlut Row Scindiah. His Excellency in Council considers you to have manifested great judgment, ability, and discretion in conducting the negotiation of this important treaty with Scindiah, and to have rendered a public service of the highest description by the conclusion of the treaty of defensive and subsidiary alliance."

In truth, Malcolm needed at this time some such reassurance and encouragement. He had toiled on, resolute to do his duty, in spite of the continued assaults of a depressing malady. A man with a severe liver complaint, under repeated courses of mercury, is not commonly in that philosophic frame of mind which enables him to take no account of small evils, and to make

light of great ones. Perhaps Malcolm was never more severely tried than at this particular point of his career. He was doubtful and uneasy about the present, painfully uncertain about his future prospects. At the end of January he had written: "I think I must have my negotiations here brought to a close, one way or another, before the 15th of next month. I shall then proceed to join the General, and from that to Bombay, which I should by this plan reach about the 15th of March; and I must at that time be distinctly informed of the Governor-General's wishes with respect to my destination. If it is his pleasure that I should remain at Mysore, I shall go by sea to Madras, and it is possible that a short trip may do me some good, though my complaints are, I fear, too radical to admit of an expectation of a complete recovery from anything short of a voyage home. I may, however, if that is not deemed advisable, be able to get on in a sick-and-well way for a twelvemonth or two longer." General Wellesley had urgently impressed on the Governor-General the expediency of deputing Malcolm to England; but the latter soon began to regret that he had ever touched upon the subject, though it lay very near to his heart. "I am almost sorry," he wrote on the 27th of January to the General, "that I ever agitated the subject. Lord Wellesley may conceive that my request to go home, with a recommendation to retain my allowances, is improper. I wrote to Shawe not to bring it forward if there appeared the least fear of such a conclusion." But a few days afterwards he received the following letter from his friend:

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

(*Secret and confidential.*)

Camp, Jan. 31, 1804.

My dear Malcolm,—The Governor-General has received a

letter from Henry (Wellesley), in which Henry informs him that he had had a long conversation with Mr. Addington on the subject of the support which the Governor-General was to expect from Ministers hereafter, in which Mr. Addington said plainly that they could not support the Governor-General against the Court of Directors. Mr. Addington talked in strong terms of the services of the Governor-General, but almost in the same breath he told Henry that, as his private friend, he would not advise him to stay beyond the year 1803. The Governor-General has asked my opinion what he ought to do, and writes of staying till December. I have told him that it is obvious that Ministers are not more desirous than the Court of Directors that he should remain in office, and that if he remains one moment beyond the first opportunity that will offer for his going home after receiving notice that he is not to have their support (allowing a reasonable time to wind up his Government and the affairs at the end of the war), he will be ordered to resign the Government to Sir G. Barlow, and that in this manner greater injury will be done to his character and to the public cause than could result from the failure of all his plans, supposing that to be certain.

I have, therefore, recommended him to fix the 1st of October for the period of his departure, and to apprise the Ministers that he would go at an earlier period if the season would permit.

He referred to my opinion upon several points connected with the Residencies. I have recommended to him to send you home, to appoint Webbe to Scindiah's Durbar (which, by-the-by, he desired me to offer to you), and Elphinstone to Nagpore; and to make the arrangement for Mysore, which we agreed was the best, supposing that you were not able to go back. I expect a duplicate of the Governor-General's letter, which I will send you. I have not time to copy that which I have written to him. But this letter contains the outline of it; and I will show you when we meet the copy which I have taken in the press. I have recommended to the Governor-General to send you to England from Bombay.

Ever yours most sincerely,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Whilst Malcolm was brooding over the suggestions contained in this letter, and encouraging revived hopes of a

mission to England on the public service, intelligence came to him from that country which much abated his homeward aspirations, and deepened the depression of spirits which continued sickness had engendered. A letter from his uncle, John Pasley, announced the death of his venerable father. The sad tidings came upon him with painful suddenness. A few weeks before he had received a letter from his younger sailor-brother, Charles,* announcing that all were well at Burnfoot†—and now he learnt that the head of the family had been gathered to his rest. Mr. George Malcolm died peaceably in his own home, surrounded by his own people. He died as the Christian dieth, with an assured belief in the efficacy of his Redeemer's merits. To John Malcolm this thought—confirmed as it was by some beautiful letters from his sisters—brought great consolation. But still how deep was the sorrow which these tidings struck into his heart, may be gathered from the following letter which he wrote back to his uncle:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. JOHN PASLEY.

Camp, near Boorhanpore, Feb. 10, 1804.

My dear Uncle,—Your letter, announcing the death of my father, reached me some days ago. No news could have been more afflicting. The loss that my dear mother and all of us have sustained is irreparable. But we should rather pray to die like him, than mourn over an event which came not unexpected, and for which our dear parent was fully prepared. He died as he lived, an example to his children, and I trust the remembrance of his virtues will live in our hearts. It will make us more firm in the path of honor and rectitude. This loss has effected a great

* The late Sir Charles Malcolm.

† Less than two months before his death—in the last letter, indeed, that he ever wrote to his son—Mr. Malcolm had said: "My health is uninterruptedly good—indeed, more so than I ever knew it. Though in general I enjoyed good health, I had little attacks of gout and cold, which I have been free from this long time." This was written on the 19th of March; on the 13th of May he died.

change in my sentiments respecting my present pursuits. The greatest enjoyment I have from the acquisition of fame and honor, is in the satisfaction which my success in life affords to those to whom I owe my being, or, what is more, the principles of virtue and honesty which I am conscious of possessing. The approbation of my conduct conveys to my mind more gratification than the thanks of millions or the applause of thousands; and as the number of those to whom I attach such value diminishes, a proportion of the reward I expected is taken away, and part of that stimulus which prompted me to action is removed. The sanguine temper of my dearest parent made him anticipate a rank in life for me which I shall probably never attain; but a knowledge that he indulged such expectations made me make every exertion of which I was capable. I am still sensible of what I owe to myself, to my friends, and to my country; but I am no longer that enthusiast in the pursuit of reputation that I formerly was, and I begin to think that object may be attained at too dear a price. My mind has perhaps been more inclined to this way of thinking from the state of my health, which continues indifferent. However, as I have fully accomplished all the objects for which I was sent to this Court, I expect soon to be released, and to be enabled to repair to the sea-coast, where I have no doubt a short residence will make me as strong as ever. I see from my last letters from Scotland that you were expected at Burnfoot in July. Your affectionate kindness will console my dearest mother, and make her more resigned to her great loss, and your presence will restore the whole family to happiness. Your own feelings, my dearest uncle, will reward you for such goodness; may you long live to enjoy the gratitude and affection of a family who owe all their success and happiness to your kindness and protection. I know not what arrangement you may think best for my mother and sisters. You are acquainted with my means. I have 10,000*l.* in my agent's hands in this country; about 3000*l.* is due to me, which I shall hereafter receive. Of the amount in your hands I cannot speak, as I know not how much of it has been applied; but I have directed 400*l.* to be remitted annually, 300*l.* of which I meant for my parents, and 100*l.* for my sisters. You will now judge what is sufficient, and dispose of all, or any part of what I possess, as you think proper; above all, let my dearest mother enjoy affluence.

One of my sisters states that Douglan would be a desirable purchase now that Howgill is separated from Burnfoot. In this I beg you will not hesitate if you think it is desirable, or if you think my mother wishes it. I am not insensible to the value of money. I have lately learnt to appreciate its value, and to regret that I have not more; but that regret has been excited by finding myself limited in my means at a moment like the present of contributing to the comfort and happiness of a family that I love, and with whom it is my wish to pass the remaining years of my life.

You will hear both from Robert and Tom; you will learn from other quarters that I have not been undistinguished amid the great scenes which have lately passed in this country, and my recent success at this Court will, I am satisfied, gain me still higher approbation. Charles Pasley is well, and going on well; so is Tom Little and Gilbert Briggs; all in excellent situations.

I am, my dear Uncle,
Ever yours affectionately,
JOHN MALCOLM.

It is better to be the writer of such a letter as this than the framer of a score of successful treaties. George Malcolm of Burnfoot died in a full and firm reliance on the noble character of his sons. All his life long, since that untoward speculation of which mention has been made at the outset of this narrative, had the thought of the liabilities with which the law had burdened him pressed heavily upon his mind. But he died in the assured conviction that the sons, who had done so much honor to his name, would remove every stain from his memory by paying off his debts to the uttermost farthing. Five years before he had drawn up a memorandum addressed to his "dear children," to be read after his death, in which he declared "before God, who will have judged me before you receive this," that he had never intentionally done an injury to any man. In this document he had told his sons that nothing but the prospect of a settlement with his creditors by their means gave

contentment to his mind. This, he said, was meant especially for Robert, who at that time was the only one on the road to opulence—but the last five years had made a great change in the relative position of his sons, and Mr. Malcolm, on his dying bed, assured his wife that he departed happy in the conviction that John would discharge his debts. In this pious work Pulteny Malcolm joined to the full extent of his ability; but although his career had been a successful one, he had acquired more fame than fortune; and the bulk of his father's obligations was discharged by the subject of this Memoir.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GWALIOR CONTROVERSY.

[1804.]

MALCOLM'S CONTINUANCE AT SCINDIAH'S DURBAR—THE QUESTION OF GWALIOR AND GOHUD—HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS—OPINIONS OF GENERAL WELLESLEY, MALCOLM, AND THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—CORRESPONDENCE WITH CALCUTTA —DISPLEASURE OF LORD WELLESLEY—REVIEW OF MALCOLM'S CONDUCT.

It will have been gathered from the preceding chapter, that on the conclusion of the war with Scindiah it was considered expedient to enter into two separate treaties with that Prince. The first was a "treaty of peace," negotiated in Wellesley's camp by the General himself; the second was a "subsidiary alliance," or an engagement for the location of a British force in Scindiah's dominions, for the negotiation of which Malcolm had been despatched to the Court of the Maharajah, then held at Boorhanpore. On the conclusion of this latter treaty, the immediate business of his mission was at an end. But there were some important details connected with the execution of the treaty of peace which called for speedy adjustment; and General Wellesley was of opinion that Malcolm could best promote the public interests by remaining at Scindiah's Durbar until Mr. Webbe, who

had recently been appointed Resident at that Court, should permanently relieve him.*

It was a difficult and a delicate task which was then entrusted to him. It was his duty to interpret the precise meaning of the treaty, and to determine the limits of the possessions to be held under it by Scindiah, by the lesser feudatory chiefs, and by the Company. But it would have been strange, indeed, if the boundaries could have been adjusted, in all cases, without a dispute.† The immediate danger being over—the peace sought for having been granted—it was only natural that every man should have endeavoured to render it as advantageous as possible to himself. "All parties were delighted with the peace," wrote General Wellesley to Malcolm; "but the demon of ambition appears now to have pervaded all; and each endeavours, by forcing constructions, to gain as much as he can."

There was sharp contention about Gwalior. All that remains of Mahratta power in India is now indissolubly associated in men's minds with thoughts of this famous fortress. There are few living who have known it as anything else but the home of the Scindiah family, and the capital of their remaining empire. But half a cen-

* As early as the 20th of February, General Wellesley had written: "Everything, but particularly the change of councils, convinces me that you ought to stay at Scindiah's Durbar till you shall be relieved by Webbe, or by the person whom the Governor-General shall appoint as permanent Resident with Scindiah. Your health is mended, and you have given up all thoughts of going to England, unless sent home on a public mission. . . . That being the case, you surely cannot be better employed than at Scindiah's Durbar; and by the delay of your departure for some time, you not only will have an opportunity of rendering essential services, but you possibly will regain your health by rest; and you will have a better season for your march to the southward than you have at present."

† The difficulty was greatly enhanced by the circumstance of there being two officers empowered to enter into treaties with the Native Princes on the part of the British Government —General Wellesley in one part of the country, and General Lake in another. The engagements of the one did not in all instances square with those of the other; and General Wellesley was, for a long time, left in ignorance of the nature of the treaties which General Lake had made with the Mahratta feudatories.

tury ago there was a conflict among the chief British authorities as to the right of the Maharajah to possess himself of the place. The question is even now a perplexing one. To argue it in all its bearings would demand a greater space than the reader of this narrative would willingly see accorded to it. Even the clear, strong head of Arthur Wellesley could not solve the entangled problem to his own or to others' satisfaction. He oscillated between two opinions. Malcolm was strong in his conviction, and nothing shook it, that justice and policy alike demanded that the fortress should be given up to Scindiah. And the Governor-General declared that justice did not require us to surrender the place, whilst sound policy imperatively called upon us to keep it out of Scindiah's hands.

The historical facts of the case were simply these. On the disruption of the Mogul Empire, Gwalior had fallen into the hands of a petty Prince known as the Rana of Gohud. From him it was wrested by the Mahrattas; but when Major Popham took the place by assault, in 1780, he gave it back to the Rana of Gohud.* The conduct of this man, however, did not justify the protection which we had afforded him. He was unfaithful to the Government to which he owed everything, and was therefore abandoned to his fate. Madhajee Scindiah

* It was to this that General Wellesley referred, in the following passage of a letter to Malcolm, written at the end of January: "As to Gwalior, the question is, To whom did it belong? To the Rana of Gohud or to Scindiah? I think to the former. I know that our Government always considered it so, and that under this consideration Gwalior was heretofore given over to the Rana of Gohud when we had taken it. If Gwalior belonged to Scindiah, it must be given up; and I acknowledge that, whether it did or not, I should be inclined to give it to him. I declare that when I view the treaty of peace and the consequences, I am afraid it will be imagined that the moderation of the British Government in India has a strong resemblance to the ambition of other Governments." It was true that Gwalior had once belonged to the Rana of Gohud, but it had long passed out of his possession. It was held by a servant of Scindiah at the commencement of the war.

laid siege to the place, bribed the garrison, and marched into it. This was in 1784. From that time Gwalior had been held by the family of Scindiah, who had, some time before the war with the English, appointed Ambajee Ingliah governor of the place. This man, a double-dyed traitor, undertook, in 1803, to surrender the fortress to the enemies of his master, but secretly instigated the commandant not to deliver it up at the appointed time. It was therefore invested by the British troops, and on the 5th of February, 1804, it fell into our hands. The treaty of Surjee-Anjengaum had been concluded—the treaty of peace which General Wellesley had negotiated with Wattel Punt. By this it was declared, that "such countries formerly in the possession of the Maharajah (Scindiah) situated between Jyepore and Joudpoor, and to the southward of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah." Another article also set forth, that whereas "certain treaties have been made by the British Government with Rajahs and others heretofore feudatories of the Maharajah, these treaties are to be confirmed; and the Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon the persons with whom such treaties have been made, and declares them to be independent of his government and authority, provided that none of the territories belonging to the Maharajah situated to the southward of those of the Rajahs of Jyepore and Joudpoor and the Rana of Gohud have been granted away by those treaties."

Upon the construction of these articles the question necessarily turned. The treaty with Scindiah had been negotiated in ignorance of the engagements which had been entered into by General Lake with the feudatory chiefs. And there was now some difficulty in reconciling with each other our different obligations to the several parties with whom we had contracted alliances at the end of the war. At Scindiah's Durbar, Malcolm saw

plainly what were the hopes and aspirations of that Court. He saw that Scindiah and his Ministers were eager to obtain possession of Gohud, and the possession of Gwalior lay very near to their hearts. With respect to the former, the justice of the case was at least doubtful. With respect to the latter, Scindiah's title might have been explained away by a not wholly inadmissible interpretation of the letter of the treaty. But Malcolm was not a man to shape his diplomatic conduct in accordance with dubious interpretations of ambiguous passages in hastily-executed treaties. It was the spirit, not the letter of an engagement which he regarded; and where doubt existed, he believed that the interpretation should ever lean to the liberal side. It was clear to him that Scindiah had executed the treaty under the strongest possible conviction that Gwalior, which had belonged to him before the war, would be restored to him on the conclusion of the peace:

"As to the fort of Gwalior," wrote Malcolm to General Wellesley, "I am persuaded one of the chief causes of the peace was to save it; and such is the importance they attach to that place, that I sincerely believe our having insisted upon its surrender would have protracted the conclusion of the peace. I wish to God that demand had been made, and that you had either obtained it, or left it by a specific article in the possession of this Government. I enclose the copy of a letter to Shawe which I sent yesterday by the Hindostanee dawk. I am afraid that I have said more in this, and in other private letters, than will please Lord Wellesley, and I expect, instead of credit, to meet with censure for my conduct at this Residency; as it may be supposed from the tenor of my private letters, and the full manner I have stated the sentiments of this Court in my public despatches, that I am hostile to a system which the Governor-General thinks it wise to pursue, and that I have gone too far in the assurance which I have given this Court with respect to the principles which will guide his Excellency in carrying the treaty of

peace into execution. There is one evil in this world which I dread more than the Marquis's displeasure—the loss of my own esteem, which I must have incurred had I acted contrary to what I have done on this occasion. I wish to God you would contrive to let me escape from this scene with honor and without reproach."

This was written on the 6th of March. A few weeks afterwards, in a letter to his old friend Mr. Græme Mercer, Malcolm still more emphatically expressed the same noble sentiments, and demonstrated that even as a mere stroke of policy it was expedient that Gwalior should be given up to Scindiah.

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MR. MERCER.

Camp, near Boorhanpore, March 30, 1804.

MY DEAR MERCER,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 20th instant, with enclosures, for which I thank you. A peace with Holkar seems to me impossible. You will see from my public letter of yesterday what this Court think; though God knows they are so much out of humor I shall hardly know how to trust them. If you got a private wig about Gwalior, I shall get a dozen. But I nevertheless shall continue to be convinced we should give that fort to this state: first, because there is some room for doubt upon the subject, and if we determine a case of disputable nature in our own favor because we have power, we shall give a blow to our faith that will, in my opinion, be more injurious to our interests than the loss of fifty provinces. What has taken us through this last war with such unexampled success? First, no doubt, the gallantry of our armies; but, secondly—and hardly, secondly—our reputation for good faith. These people do not understand the laws of nations, and it is impossible to make them comprehend a thousand refinements which are understood and practised in Europe. They will never be reconciled to the idea that a treaty should be negotiated upon one principle and fulfilled upon another. The plain fact is this: General Wellesley was wholly ignorant about Gohud and Gwalior; he thought the Rana's was a state to be maintained

instead of being one that it was meant to restore—hence all these mistakes. As to the treaty with Ambajee Ingliah, though we may satisfy them of the propriety of our reaping benefits from it after it was broke at the expense of Ambajee, we can never persuade them of our right to reap them at the expense of Dowlut Row; unless we could prove that he was a party with Ambajee in the act of treachery. But on grounds of policy I would, if possible, satisfy this Court; first, that we may preserve its friendship, which is of ultimate importance; and secondly, that we may enable it to take a number of plunderers into its service to check others of the same tribe, and to prevent the whole country being overrun, as it must be (if there are no regular Governments to give them service), with bands of robbers, who will join every adventurer that starts, and who, if they once taste the sweets of our provinces, will never be out of them.

I do not think we could have a better frontier than the Jumna, nor a better neighbour in India than Dowlut Row, if we act with a liberal and conciliating policy towards him. Of the revival of his Infantry we can entertain no dread; and as to his Horse, if they are to be led to plunder, a slip of country which they could pass in two or three days, and the hill forts, which could never stop their progress, would prove a slight impediment to prevent their desultory invasion; but allowing the contrary—and your knowledge on this point must have more weight than my ignorance—it is not the safety of the Doab which we are to look to in arguing this question, but the safety and tranquillity of India, which is, I think, likely to be most seriously disturbed by the state in which I know the Deccan, and in which you represent Hindostan to be; and this is only to be averted by our conciliating and supporting the more regular Governments.

Yours ever,
JOHN MALCOLM.

These opinions, to a great extent, were shared by General Wellesley; but not at all by the Governor-General. The letters of the former show that, although he believed advantage might be taken of the terms of the treaty to refuse the restoration of Gwalior to Scindiah, he entirely sympathised with the generous sentiments,

and concurred in the high notions of public faith, which were thus earnestly enunciated by his friend. He may have halted between two opinions in respect of certain points of mere interpretation; but he placed the question on a broader basis, and rejected all thoughts of present expediency. "I would sacrifice Gwalior," he wrote to Malcolm, "or every frontier of India ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honor we gained by the late war and the peace; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. What brought me through many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations of peace? The British good faith, and nothing else."

But although such assurances of sympathy as these had a bracing and invigorating effect, and fortified Malcolm in his resolution to forfeit even the friendship of the Governor-General rather than the sustaining approval of his own conscience, he was greatly disquieted by the knowledge that, for the first time in his life, he was declaring opinions and recommending a course of policy which he knew were regarded with disapprobation by his master and friend. He never forgot that he was only a diplomatic agent, and that it was his business to execute Lord Wellesley's orders, not to shape measures of his own. But he had gone to Scindiah's Court with no instructions relative to Gwalior and Gohud. He was in ignorance of the precise character of the engagements contracted with the Rana of Gohud* and the feudatory chiefs in Hindostan. He was severed from Calcutta by

* General Wellesley frankly acknowledged, that when he negotiated the peace he knew nothing about the Rana of Gohud and the position which he held before the war. The fact is, that there was no such principality in existence. It had been extinguished by Scindiah, and was now to be re-established.

an extent of country which it then took three weeks to traverse. He was in constant communication with General Wellesley, who had, vested with full powers by the Governor-General, negotiated the Peace. He had reason to believe that the line of policy he was pursuing at Scindiah's Court was in consonance with the General's views. And he had already committed himself in his discussions with Scindiah's Ministers, when the opinions of Lord Wellesley on this question were first made known to him in a manner which admitted of no misconstruction. He could not reproach himself either for disobedience or precipitancy. He never doubted that he was right. But the approbation of Lord Wellesley had long been very dear to him; and it was a sore trial to him to feel that, justly or unjustly, it was now, wholly and absolutely, withheld.

The clouds were gathering over him, and he felt that the bursting of the storm would not be much longer delayed. The General had seconded Malcolm's views in his correspondence with Calcutta, and at one time expressed a hope that Lord Wellesley would modify his first opinions, and consent to the liberal measures which Malcolm had recommended.* But the latter had no

* See the following passages in General Wellesley's correspondence with Malcolm: "It appears that Scindiah's Ministers have given that Prince reason to expect that he could retain possession of Gwalior; and I think it possible, considering all the circumstances of the case, his Excellency the Governor-General may be induced to attend to Scindiah's wishes on this occasion. At all events, your despatches contain fresh matter on which it would be desirable to receive his Excellency's orders before you proceed to make any communication to Scindiah's Durbar on the subject of Gwalior."—[*March* 17, 1804.] "I anticipate a favorable decision of the Gwalior question, from the change of ground which the Governor-General has made on which to place the question. He first founded all his arguments on the treaty with Ambajee and that of the Rana of Gohud; and in the instructions to you the treaty with Ambajee is laid aside, and the treaty with the Rana of Gohud is alone brought forward. In my opinion, that treaty affords good ground for your arrangement about Gohud, but none for Gwalior."—[*March* 29.] "I hope that you will have received mine of the 17th in time to delay the discussions on the subject of Gwalior, which it appears by another letter that you intended to bring forward. However, I

such expectation. He knew that the Governor-General was tenacious in the extreme of his own opinions, and prone to resent anything like opposition to them. It was with much less surprise than pain, therefore, that he received from Major Shawe a long letter, in which Lord Wellesley's dissatisfaction was thus distinctly expressed:

"Lord Wellesley is not at all satisfied with your arguments in favor of the restoration of Gwalior and of the country of Gohud to Scindiah's authority. The necessity of retaining Gwalior and Gohud upon the peace was so strongly stated in his original plan embracing the objects of the war, that his Lordship says they ought to have been specifically secured by the treaty. . . . . The treaties with Ambajee and with the Rana of Gohud, of which copies have been sent to you, will satisfy you that it is not in the power of this Government to restore the territory of Gohud to Scindiah without violating our faith with the Rana. Lord Wellesley says the treaty with the Rana cannot be touched. . . . . With respect to the fortress of Gwalior, the British Government has a right to dispose of that in whatever manner it pleases, under the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, which is confirmed by the ninth article of the treaty of peace.* Lord Wellesley is not very willing to part with it. But to please Scindiah, his Lordship will, I believe, consent to give it up, provided the Commander-in-Chief does not think it indispensable to the defence of our frontier. . . . . Lord Wellesley says that the question for which you contend is one which will decide whether General Wellesley has not made a worse peace than Wattel Punt. If it is decided that the treaty of peace does not cover Gwalior and Gohud, Wattel Punt will have the advantage. But, in Lord Wellesley's judgment,

have but faint hopes that I shall succeed in inducing the Governor-General to alter his intentions, as by a letter which I received yesterday from Mr. Edmonstone, it appears that he insists upon the confirmation of all the treaties made with the feudatories."—[*March* 30.] "I have received your letters to the 24th of March. Your breeze about Gwalior and Gohud went off tolerably well. My reason for wishing to avoid all discussion on the subject was, that it was carried on in such a tone that I feared something would be said which would render it impossible for the Governor-General to concede, which I think still that he may be inclined to do. God send that he may, for the subject will not stand discussion."—[*April* 1.]

* Quoted *ante*, page 265.

the treaty of peace, by confirming those which had been contracted with the feudatories of Scindiah, does cover Gohud and Gwalior; and if any part of these possessions shall be restored to Scindiah, he must first renounce his pretensions to them, and accept it as a boon."

There was worse than this yet to come. As time advanced, Lord Wellesley became more and more anxious regarding the progress of events at Scindiah's Court. Malcolm knew, as I have said, that the Governor-General was naturally impatient of opposition; but he did not, perhaps, know at this time how much more impatient and irritable he had become since they had parted, a year before, in Calcutta. The combined antagonism of the Court of Directors and the desertion of the Crown Ministers, from whom he had expected support, sorely vexed and exasperated him. He had a great work to accomplish; he had great responsibilities to sustain. If he had been vigorously supported by the Governments at home, he might still, without discredit, have been greatly disquieted by anything which tended in his estimation to mar the completeness of the vast scheme of policy which he had mapped out. But when every fresh fleet from England brought new proofs of the stern opposition which he had to encounter—when he knew that the authorities in England, who misunderstood and misjudged him, were eager to detect the minutest blot, and ready to sacrifice him on any pretext, it was doubly vexatious to be thwarted by his agents. He knew that any difference of opinion between himself and his ministers would be turned to his disadvantage. And it was gall and wormwood to him to think that Malcolm, his own familiar friend, with whom he had taken sweet counsel, should become the instrument of his dishonor. If it had been an enemy who had done this thing, then he could have borne it. But it was hard

indeed to him to think that the blow should have come from the man on whose support above all others' he had most reason to rely.

If he had wronged Malcolm he was eager to be undeceived. He was continually thinking about the progress of events at Scindiah's Court. He requested that all the private letters received thence by Edmonstone and Shawe—the public and private secretaries—might be given to him for perusal. He compared these confidential communications with the public despatches, and gathered but too plainly from the whole that Malcolm had favored the pretensions of Scindiah to Gwalior and Gohud—especially to the former. But he readily caught at any indications in the correspondence laid before him of a different course of conduct; and at one time thought that Malcolm had "recovered his credit" by a vigorous assertion of the rights of the British Government. Then it was that Major Shawe, eager to remove the painful feelings which his former letter must have occasioned, wrote the following, in a strain of hearty congratulation:

"I had suffered much uneasiness on the subject of your opinions respecting Gwalior and Gohud for some days previous to the receipt of your despatches Nos. 23 and 24. Lord Wellesley was so anxious on the subject that he eagerly perused every public and private letter which came from you. It appeared from most of your letters that you were excessively eager upon the subject of conciliating Scindiah and his Government, and that you were disposed to make considerable sacrifices to secure his good-will. The politicians on this side of India did not attach so much importance to the conciliation of Scindiah. But they considered the possession of Gohud and Gwalior to be of the utmost importance, in a political as well as a military point of view. They were disposed to form their judgment of the peace of Surjee-Anjengaum upon the turn which this question might take. It was Bappoo Wattel *versus* General Wellesley. . . . . I cannot tell you how much I was gratified at your having recovered your credit so

handsomely by your late despatches on this subject. Your credit on this occasion is the more honorable to you, because you had not received any intimation of the Governor-General's view of the subject at the period when you adopted the line of conduct which he has recommended to you in his late instructions. Your residence at the Court of Scindiah will have been short and brilliant, and you will quit it with honor."—[*April* 22, 1804.]

But the belief which prompted these expressions was speedily obscured. Before the day had gone, the language of congratulation was changed to the language of reproach. Other letters from Malcolm were received, which showed that he had not yet checked the presumption of Scindiah and his Ministers; and Lord Wellesley, all his previous annoyance swollen by his recent disappointment, broke out into expressions of resentment stronger than any he had manifested before. His anger was so great that he could not contain himself till the morning. Mortified and indignant, he desired his private secretary, late as it was, to despatch at once a letter to Major Malcolm, expressive of the extreme displeasure of the Governor-General. So Shawe reluctantly wrote:

"I am sorry to tell you that your last letters have rekindled all Lord Wellesley's displeasure on the subject of Gwalior and Gohud, and upon your listening to the claims fabricated by Bappoo Wattel to the restoration of those possessions, and to the complaints of Scindiah's Ministers upon every question that occurs, which, Lord Wellesley desires me to say, are framed in a tone and spirit which are insulting to the British character, and are delivered rather in the language of conquerors than of the vanquished. He desires you to be prepared to complain in full Durbar to Scindiah of the insolence of his Minister. In short, my dear Malcolm, he is excessively displeased at the indulgence with which you have received the tricks which, Lord Wellesley desires me to say, the Ministers have endeavoured to put upon you. I will write to you to-morrow very fully; but I was desired to write a few lines to-night, and I have thought it fair to you as well as to Lord

Wellesley not to disguise the degree of his displeasure at what has occurred relative to Gwalior and Gohud."—[*April* 22, 1804, 8 P.M.]

A longer and more explanatory letter on the same painful subject was despatched on the following day; and a week afterwards Major Shawe wrote another letter to Malcolm, in which, for the first time, the main source of Lord Wellesley's disquietude was distinctly revealed. On many accounts the following passages are worthy of quotation:

"It would be impossible for me to describe to you the painful sensations with which I have observed the progress of the late correspondence between Boorhanpore and Calcutta. It will cost you many pangs, and I assure you it has given your friends here the deepest uneasiness and concern; and although Lord Wellesley is excessively angry at your conduct, every animadversion which he has found it necessary to make upon it has cost him pain.

"You may be assured that no exertion of mine was wanting to disarm Lord Wellesley's anger, and to place the motives of your conduct in the favorable point of view which they deserve (in my judgment, or rather in my conviction, founded on a knowledge of your character and ardent attachment to Lord Wellesley) to be considered. But whatever your motives may have been, your conduct has certainly placed Lord Wellesley in a very embarrassing situation, and when that is the case, you know that he is always inclined to vent his feelings freely against those who have occasioned him difficulty and trouble.

"Your having shown a great disposition to admit the justice of Scindiah's right (claim) to Gwalior and Gohud is likely, Lord Wellesley thinks, to give his enemies in Leadenhall-street room to found an accusation against Lord Wellesley of injustice and rapacity in insisting upon retaining these possessions contrary to the opinion of the Resident. Lord Wellesley is firmly satisfied of the right of the British Government to retain these possessions under the treaty of peace. There is not a man on this side of India who does not think with Lord Wellesley that the exclusion of the Mahrattas from Hindostan, which is stated over and over again in Lord Wellesley's Instructions, Declarations, &c., to be a

main object of the war, will depend entirely upon the retention of Gwalior, &c. Under this conviction, and under a sense of our engagements with the Rana of Gohud, Lord Wellesley thinks the restoration of Gwalior and Gohud to Scindiah would be a breach of his public duty. But, in retaining them, he is apprehensive that the countenance which you have given to Scindiah's pretensions will induce common observers to believe that the right is with Scindiah, and that it has been trampled upon by Lord Wellesley."—[*May* 1, 1804.]

It will be gathered from these letters that Lord Wellesley's irritation was extreme. But nothing has so clearly revealed to me how deeply he felt what he considered Malcolm's "disobedience" as a circumstance perhaps unknown to the latter, whose private letters to Edmonstone and Shawe were, as I have said, by his Excellency's desire, submitted to the Governor-General. In one of these, addressed to Edmonstone, Malcolm wrote: "God knows, throughout the whole of this troubled scene my attention has been exclusively directed to one object—the promotion of the public interests." These last two words, on reading the letter, Lord Wellesley underscored, and appended to them this note in the margin—"Mr. Malcolm's duty is to obey my orders and to enforce my instructions. *I* will look after the *public* interests."

How deeply Malcolm was grieved by the displeasure of Lord Wellesley it is almost superfluous to tell. The love of approbation was very strong within him. The praises of his official superiors always gladdened his heart. But Lord Wellesley was something more than an official superior. He was a beloved and venerated friend. Still, with an approving conscience, Malcolm might have borne up against even the vehement disapprobation of the man whom, at that time, he most honored in the world. But it cut him to the soul to think that he should have put a weapon into the hands of the Governor-General's enemies wherewith to smite not only the friend to whom he

owed so much, but the statesman who was fighting so bravely the great battle in which no one more than Malcolm desired his triumphant success. It was this that hurt him most of all. Unintentional as was the blow that he had inflicted, he felt almost as though he were an apostate from the true faith—a deserter from the good cause—fighting in the ranks of his master's enemies. Although he knew that he had done what was right, some feelings of self-reproach marred the content of his approving conscience, and he feared that he was chargeable with ingratitude and presumption. Moreover, he was in ill health—struggling vainly against a complication of ailments; and his constitutional cheerfulness had yielded to the depressing influences of continued sickness in the most trying season of the year. No wonder, therefore, that these repeated notes of censure from Government House wrung from him a sharp cry of pain. He declared that he was broken-hearted:

MAJOR MALCOLM TO MAJOR SHAWE.

Camp, May 20, 1804.

MY DEAR SHAWE,—I have received your letter of the 30th ultimo, and I have perused your despatch to Mr. Webbe, enclosing Lord Wellesley's note of the same date relative to my conduct. I am perfectly heart-broken from these communications—in reply to which, neither the state of my mind nor my body will admit of my saying much at present. I may trouble you hereafter.

From what you stated in a former letter, I am satisfied that you meant me benefit instead of injury, when you showed all my private letters to Lord Wellesley. It was, however, never in my contemplation you should do so. It happened that three men—yourself, Edmonstone, and Mercer—with whom I was on terms of unlimited confidence, filled stations of a description which required you should have every information on political subjects, and I (presuming on the confidential way in which I could address you) conveyed in a private form every sentiment of my mind as

it arose. Some of these must have appeared to Lord Wellesley highly presumptuous; and I am punished accordingly. My presumption is on record, where my name is placed as a beacon to warn others.

Do not feel personally sore at the warmth of my expressions. I am satisfied no man on earth could less intend to hurt my character than you did, or to deprive me of the possession of that esteem on which I so highly valued myself. But all has been wrong from the commencement of this ill-fated mission, which I commenced with mistaken views (as it now appears) of the mode of conduct I was to pursue towards this Court.

The charge is now resigned into abler hands, and I shall trouble you no further, except, perhaps, with a short letter from Poonah or Bombay, in which I shall inform you of my future movements. The state of my health will probably make me determine on a visit to England; and I will not conceal from you that the conviction of my having lost his Lordship's confidence will make me less repugnant to such a step than I before was. It will probably restore my health, and will be attended with no disagreeable circumstance but that of returning to India.

Yours very sincerely,

J. MALCOLM.

Great, however, as was Malcolm's distress at this time, it was not without some alleviation from without as well as from within. There was one, at least, who warmly sympathised with him, and appreciated the manliness of his conduct. General Wellesley, who knew better than any man the circumstances in which Malcolm had been placed, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, thought that the cutting censures, which had wounded him to the heart, were "quite shocking." The letters which at this time the great soldier addressed to his friend, clearly indicate his opinion on the subject:

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Camp at Panoulah, May 29, 1804.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I can easily conceive that you must

have been rendered very uncomfortable by everything that has been written in Bengal relative to affairs at Scindiah's Durbar. However, I will talk more upon that subject when we meet. If there is water forward, I shall march immediately. If not, I must wait for a little rain. Three ships have arrived from England, in one of which Recorder Mackintosh is come out. They sailed the 13th of February. I have no news that is not contained in the enclosed letters and papers received from Osborne. I have added notes, that you may understand the latter.

Ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Chindhooree, June 6, 1804.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I have just received your letter of the 30th May. I saw the notes to which you allude, and think them quite shocking. You did not deserve such treatment, positively, and I am not astonished at its having distressed you. I wrote to Webbe to desire that you could make any use you pleased of my letter to you of the [ ] April, in which I refused to authorise the delivery of the forts of Asseeghur, &c., as I observe that the omission to deliver up those forts is made a great handle against you, and most unjustly. I shall be here for some time. No rains have set in.

Ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Camp at Chindhooree, June 9, 1804.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I am rejoiced to hear that you are so near us again. I will go to see you at Poonah if you cannot come here; but you can have no idea what a fine healthy camp I have got. What do you mean to do? Do you stay with me, or go to Mysore, or go to Bombay and to sea? If you adopt the last plan, I shall be obliged to you if you will let me have some of your finest camels. Forbes writes me from Bombay that you have got two Mocha Arab horses, but he does not like them much, although one of them cost 1000, the other 950 dollars. However, Forbes is not a good judge of horses, for, if I recollect

right, he joined in opinion with the wags who did not admire the Wahaby. . . . .

Ever, my dear Malcolm,
Yours most sincerely,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

But Malcolm's trials were now over. The recollection of them only survived. Glad indeed was he when his old friend Mr. Webbe, who had been appointed Resident at Scindiah's Court, made his appearance, and relieved him from duties which had long been only painful to him. He was now at liberty to seek, in change of air and comparative repose, the reinvigoration of his shattered health. The Gwalior controversy, as far as he was concerned, was at an end—at all events for a time. The restoration of the place to Dowlut Rao Scindiah was to belong to another stage of the great contest with the Mahrattas. Malcolm never swerved from his original opinion. But, practically, in all such controversies the will of the higher authority prevails.

Lord Wellesley had been very angry, and he had caused his displeasure to be communicated in unsparing terms. But he loved and respected Malcolm; and he was grieved to learn that his censures had sunk so deeply into his friend's heart. So he sate down and wrote a long explanatory letter, entering frankly and unreservedly into the feelings by which he had been moved, and declaring that, in spite of this distressing episode, his confidence in Malcolm was unshaken:

LORD WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MALCOLM.

Barrackpore, June 14, 1804.

MY DEAR MAJOR,—I am concerned to learn that your mind has been considerably distressed by an idea that your conduct in the late discussions at the Durbar of Scindiah has not been satisfactory to me. A plain and candid statement of my sentiments

on that subject will, I trust, relieve you from your anxiety. I approve in the warmest manner the aid you afforded to my brother Arthur in all the important arrangements which preceded and immediately followed the restoration of the Peishwah, and all the negotiations which led to the restoration of peace with the Mahratta confederates. In these most arduous affairs you have rendered a most useful service to your country, and greatly augmented your public fame and your claims on my gratitude and esteem. In the negotiation of the defensive alliance with Scindiah you accomplished one of the most essential services which any diplomatic exertion could have effected in India, and one of the objects most valuable in my estimation. In the discussions relating to Gwalior and Gohud it is candid to acknowledge that you have not afforded me the satisfaction which I have usually derived from your assistance in the execution of my instructions. You should either have refused to listen to any discussion on the subject until you could have received my orders, and thus have silenced that acrimonious and irritating contention which was provoked and protracted by your suffering the question to be agitated in the interval of my decision; or you should have silenced all contention by your peremptorily insisting upon our right under the treaty of peace, and by refusing to make any reference on a question so clear. In either case our cause would have been aided under any possible decision which I might have made. Your repeated and vexatious discussions served to influence expectation, and to cherish hope; nor was the evil abated by the ability and force with which you stated the justice of our claims, since the mere circumstance of admitting discussion and reference served to exasperate the temper of the Mahrattas, and to encourage a prospect of success which, if disappointed, must prove a fresh source of discontent and jealousy. Every advantage would have been gained by a firm discouragement of all hope on this question. For if it had been possible for me to concede the point of solicitude, the concession would have acquired additional grace and value from a firm assertion of our right in the first instance, and from every previous proceeding tending to discourage and to repress the arrogance of the original claim. But my principal objection to your conduct on this occasion arose from observing an appearance of a more zealous desire to reduce my judgment to your opinion, than to examine carefully the real objects and foundation

of my instructions, and to devise the most certain means of accomplishing what it evidently had ordered after full and deliberate consideration. This was an error of conscience, I am persuaded; but it is an error of a dangerous tendency; and, in the present case, operated entirely in favor of Scindiah's Durbar, without producing any favorable change in my judgment. You are well apprised of my disposition to give the utmost attention to your opinions, but it is vexatious to perceive in any friend, however respectable, the symptoms of a disposition to force or embarrass my judgment; although such a disposition may arise from a sincere conviction of the superior justice of his own opinions, and from a conscientious solicitude to place me in the path which he deems right. More consideration should have been given to the serious importance of the proposed concession (which, after all, I must have estimated with reference to many points unknown to you), to the positive terms of my instructions, and to the public faith on the side of our allies in the war. Nor should the idea have been harbored for a minute either that I could have issued an instruction so positive on a subject so important without full knowledge of the subject, or that I could change my opinion suddenly at the suggestion of any person, however deserving of attention. The fact is, that it was not possible for me to make the proposed concession; the assiduity and perseverance, therefore, with which I was assailed, for the purpose of compelling me to act in contradiction to my judgment, were at least vexatious, if not disrespectful. Freedom of discussion and full communication of opinion are necessary duties of friendship towards all persons exercising great power; but it can never be a duty to circumvent or to influence the deliberate judgment of those who are responsible to their country for the discharge of high functions of state; and the repetition of a course of proceedings manifesting a systematic purpose rather of leading or driving than of aiding and informing my judgment in the discharge of my public duty, would not tend to strengthen my confidence in any friend or adviser.

In the present case, however, no doubt even ever arose in my mind, since the point which you contested so strenuously was that. I should, upon Scindiah's peremptory demand, instantly restore Gwalior and Gohud, for no other reason than because Scindiah demanded them, and would not be satisfied without obtaining

instant possession of them. At all events, if the concession is to be made, it will be more politic in the form of an act of grace than in that of an act of necessity. And, therefore, your proposition was utterly inadmissible under any circumstances. I now possess the means of making the concession with the greatest advantage, if circumstances should admit of my conferring such a favor upon Scindiah. But to have conceded such a favor as a matter of right to Scindiah, or before he had acknowledged our right, or had even fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty of peace, would have been extremely impolitic, even if it had been practicable.

The discussion, however, is now happily terminated, and I am most sincerely glad that you were present at its honorable and wise termination; and that in fact you contributed principally to remove all the difficulties which had unfortunately been accumulated on this embarrassing question. Whatever vexation and distress I have suffered (and never have I suffered more) were entirely removed by your last conference on the day of your taking leave of Scindiah. And I have dismissed all trace of my sufferings from my mind. In the official notice of these transactions I shall be careful to avoid any expression that can prove painful or injurious to you. Your general conduct will require the highest approbation, and the special points upon which I think the negotiation might have been improved, perhaps, may not require official notice. At all events, the observations will be made with a temper which will mark the strongest general sentiments of respect and esteem.

You may be assured that, although these discussions have given me great pain, they have not in any degree impaired my friendship and regard for you, or my general confidence and esteem. You cannot suppose that such transactions did not irritate me considerably at the unseasonable moment of their pressure. But you have already received from me suggestions of the same nature with those expressed in this letter, and you are aware of my aversion to every description of attack upon my judgment, excepting fair, distinct, direct argument. Reflecting on these observations, I entertain a confident expectation that you will always pursue that course of proceeding, in the discharge of the duties of friendship towards me, which you now know to be most congenial to my character and temper; and I am satisfied that

you will continue to possess the high place in my esteem and attachment, to which you are so justly entitled by every consideration of gratitude and respect.

I am extremely grieved to learn that your health has been so deeply affected. I trust, however, that the sea air and repose will entirely restore you. I leave you at liberty, either to return to Mysore, or to join me in the Upper Provinces, or to prepare for another mission to Persia, or to prepare for Europe, as you may judge most advisable. I have apprised the Secret Committee of the probability of your return to Europe, and of my intention to employ you in communicating to them the details of the recent events in the Mahratta Empire. My own intention (although most secret) is to return to Europe in January or February next, provided the state of affairs in India should permit, which event now appears probable. In the mean while I expect to depart for the Upper Provinces in about ten days, all my preparations being completed. You will act upon this information as you may judge best. I shall be happy to see you at Agra or Delhi, or to have your company to Europe. You may rest assured of my constant good wishes for your health and welfare.

Ever, my dear Major, yours most sincerely,

WELLESLEY.

General Wellesley has not told me whether he ever received the horse which I sent to him, or how that horse turned out; somebody told me that he had suffered the same fate as "Old Port," who was shot under General Lake at Laswarree.—W.

There are many, perhaps, who will agree with me in opinion, that in spite of its seeming unimportance, the postscript is the best part of this lengthy letter. It has, and doubtless was intended to have, a significance not very apparent on the surface. Nothing could have more unmistakeably conveyed to Malcolm the desired impression that Lord Wellesley still stood towards him in his old position of a familiar friend, than a reference to a strictly private matter of this kind at the close of such a communication. Perhaps, on reperusing the letter, the

writer felt that it was somewhat cold and stately, with a little too much of the Governor-General in it, and that if he did not descend from this high ground, he might fail to set Malcolm at his ease. If such were the benign object of the postscript, it was sufficiently attained. The letter reached Malcolm some weeks afterwards at Madras, and drew from him the following acknowledgment:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO LORD WELLESLEY.

Fort St. George, July 26, 1804.

My Lord,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 14th ultimo, which, from its having first gone to Poonah, only reached me yesterday. The extraordinary kindness with which your Lordship has condescended to explain the causes which led to your displeasure at part of my conduct at the Durbar of Scindiah, has completely banished from my memory every painful feeling which the first knowledge of that displeasure had excited, and has filled my mind with sentiments of the warmest gratitude and most devoted attachment.

The full justice which your Lordship has done my motives makes it unnecessary for me to enter into any explanations of what has passed. It is sufficient to assure your Lordship that the whole tenor of my future conduct shall be regulated in the strictest conformity to your desire; and I shall be proud in every opportunity I may hereafter have of showing that I am not unworthy of the favor and condescension with which I have been treated.

I am flattered by the solicitude which your Lordship has been pleased to express respecting my health, which is improved, though far from being restored. The gentlemen of the faculty have proposed my proceeding for a few weeks to Ganjam—a measure which I am more inclined to adopt from the vicinity of that place to Calcutta, whither it is my wish to proceed the moment my health will permit me to encounter the climate.

With respect to my future destination, I can have no wish but to be governed by your Lordship's commands. I shall explain to General Wellesley, before he leaves Madras, how fully prepared I am to execute them in any quarter of the world.

The horse which your Lordship gave me in charge for your

brother has been more fortunate than Old Port. He is alive, and in high health and beauty, and is esteemed by his present master, as well as by every other person who has seen him, the finest charger in India.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
JOHN MALCOLM.

I think that this is a passage in Malcolm's life which may be dwelt upon with unmixed pleasure. For the diplomatic *imbroglio* out of which the controversy arose he was not responsible.* When he first went to Scindiah's Court the treaty with the Rana of Gohud had not been made; he knew nothing, and General Wellesley knew nothing, of what was going on in Upper India. At this time, indeed, there was no such state as that of Gohud. It was not Malcolm's fault that negotiations on the part of the British Government were going on at the same time in two different parts of the country. At Scindiah's Durbar he saw plainly that the Ministers of that Prince had concluded the treaty of Surjee-Anjengaum in the belief that Gwalior and its dependencies formed part of the country to be secured to the Maharajah, and,

* The manner in which the difficulty arose is stated very correctly by Malcolm himself in a private letter to Mr. Edmonstone. "You will see with regret," he wrote, "the serious misunderstandings about Gwalior and its dependencies. They originated in deceit on the part of Scindiah's Wakeels, and in want of information on ours, and in a dislike of either to enter directly upon a point which both were sensible might delay the negotiation. General Wellesley let Gwalior, Gohud, &c., &c., take their chance of coming under the ninth article. Scindiah's Ministers then thought, and continue to think, they cannot be brought under that article. They rest much upon the declaration of the General when that article was framed, which went to assure them that it was *merely* to enable the Company to preserve its engagements, and made neither with a view of adding to the strength of the English Government, or to that of any of its allies, unless such allies should have their country specifically guaranteed by an engagement made before the arrival of the treaty of peace. I wish to God this point had been clearly adjusted, and that Gwalior in particular (which is the great bone of contention) had either been ceded to the Company, or left to Scindiah in the body of the treaty; for however clear our right to it under the engagement with Ambajee, it will never, I fear, be possible to satisfy this Government of this right, though their present reduced state, and their total want of confidence in Holkar, will, I think, force them to acquiescence in any arrangement that is made."

in the absence of all knowledge of other entanglements, he believed that good faith demanded our recognition of the desired arrangement, whilst sound policy suggested the augmentation rather than the diminution of Scindiah's power. He acted, too, under the assured conviction that General Wellesley, who had received full powers to negotiate the treaty out of which the Gwalior controversy arose, approved of what he was doing; and before he was made aware of the opinions and wishes of the Governor-General, he had already committed himself to the support of Scindiah's views. Whilst, therefore, Malcolm must be acquitted of the charge of disobedience and presumption, he is entitled, on the other hand, to the highest praise for the manly independence and honesty with which he stood up for what he believed was the right, even at the risk of losing that which, next to the approbation of his own conscience, he valued most upon earth. No one acquainted with the character of Lord Wellesley, even as portrayed in softened colors by himself, and the affectionate veneration with which he was regarded, can doubt for a moment the extent of the sacrifice which Malcolm was prepared to make. The moral courage and integrity of the man were tried as in a furnace, and bravely they stood the test.

CHAPTER XII.

MYSORE AND CALCUTTA.

[1804—1805.]

DEPARTURE FROM SCINDIAH'S COURT — RESIDENCE AT VIZAGAPATAM AND GANJAM — CORRESPONDENCE WITH GENERAL WELLESLEY — VOYAGE TO MADRAS—THE MYSORE RESIDENCY—DEPARTURE OF GENERAL WELLESLEY — CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL — SUMMONS TO CALCUTTA—COUNCILS OF STATE.

On leaving Scindiah's Court, in the hot weather of 1804, Malcolm proceeded to the Coast, partly to recruit his health, and partly to visit his brother Robert, the civilian. General Wellesley had already taken his departure from the scene of his recent triumphs.

Malcolm spent some time at Vizagapatam in a state of almost entire repose. He seems to have put aside official business for a time, and to have well-nigh ceased from private correspondence. His health rapidly improved. He said that he "enjoyed idling in perfection," and at the beginning of September wrote that he was "growing quite stout." The first letter of any importance which I can find to indicate that he had begun again to occupy his mind with public affairs, is a long letter, written on the 4th of September, to General Wellesley, who had arrived at Calcutta* three weeks

* "I arrived here," wrote the General to Malcolm, "on the 12th, and was received in great style by the Governor-General. . . . . The Go-

before. Great events were then developing themselves in Hindostan. Scarcely had we concluded a peace with Scindiah, before Holkar was up in arms against us. The event known in history as "Monson's retreat" had filled men's minds with anxious thoughts and forebodings; and there was a cry for the victor of Assye and Argaum to lead the British battalions against our enemies on the banks of the Jumna. Malcolm was especially eager for his friend's return to the army, and wrote earnestly beseeching him to consider the advantages of his continuance in India, and his reappearance on the scene of action:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO GENERAL WELLESLEY.

Vizagapatam, Sept. 4, 1804.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—What renders every war a subject of alarm to my mind, is neither our want of troops nor of resources (we have sufficient of both), but the want of commanders. I know only two—General Lake and yourself—to whom armies could be entrusted, and on this side I know no officer, except Close, to whom the conduct of a large detachment could be given with implicit confidence.

I can conceive many reasons why you should be averse to a trip to the Deccan; and yet, if Holkar is not soon reduced, I can see no other measure that will secure our interests in that quarter. Close having full powers, and taking the field, is the next best expedient; but still this is greatly short of your presence. Your name is everything. The Nizam, the Peishwah, the Bhoonsla, and Scindiah, would all be kept in order. . . . .

It is at the present crisis impossible to conjecture the operations

vernor-General does not go up the country; and orders have been sent to me to go to Lake and carry on the war in reality and with activity. . . . He has been ill since I arrived, and I have not been able to do more than go into the question of the war with Holkar, the mode of carrying it on," &c. In this letter the General adds: "When you give advice in future, you must enter into particulars. You desired me to admire Windham's picture—but you did not say whether it was that in crayons or in miniature. I admired that which I ought not, and got into a worse scrape than that in which I should have been if I had not admired any picture at all."

of the next campaign, which must depend upon the conduct of our allies and the movements of the enemy; but it is probable the war will be much confined to Malwah; and no doubt, if both you and the Commander-in-Chief are in the province, every political arrangement must fall to the latter. But, independent of the aid he would receive from you in the conduct of the military operations, he would also derive the most essential assistance in effecting a political settlement; so that even in that case you would have an opportunity of rendering most important services; and in any other, such as the Commander-in-Chief being in Hindostan or in Bundelkund, you would have the arrangement of everything in Malwah to yourself. I know circumstances might arise which would make your situation, in the subordinate part it might fall to your share to act, unpleasant; but a sense of duty and zeal for the public service would prevent such feelings having weight; and after the principles of the line to be followed being clearly laid down, as they will be while you are at Calcutta, I can see no chance of a difference of opinion in any of those employed. At all events, we should not decline a station in which we are positive we can do a great deal of good, from a fear of not having it in our power to do all the good we might wish or intend. You will, while at Fort William, discuss with the Governor-General all the affairs of the Deccan; and if you come round clothed with his power, you will be able, from that circumstance, to act with great advantage during a critical period—you will be able to decide a thousand points without a reference, which will tend to attach and confirm the friendship of our allies, and you will be able (with half the trouble any other man could) to carry into effect the different arrangements which are necessary to secure not only the temporary, but the permanent tranquillity of that quarter.

I continue of opinion, that unless there is a change in the Ministry, which I pray to God there may be, Lord Wellesley should go home in January. The risks incurred by his departure are serious; but not half so much so, as far as I can judge, as those incurred by his stay. A coalition has been formed between weak and designing men, which, if not stifled in the birth (as it will be, Lord Wellesley in England), may subvert our empire in India. It will, I fear, be in vain to combat this coalition at a distance. Should, however, Lord Wellesley go home next January, his fame and the public good would demand that he

should require others to remain till the contest with Holkar was brought to an issue—and, indeed, till the agitation in which late events have thrown the peninsula has so far subsided as to admit of our armies leaving the field. Till all this is effected, you should, I think, remain; and the loss which your brother would feel would be most amply compensated by the advantage which his reputation and the public service (which are inseparable) would derive from your exertions. Upon Lord Wellesley's personal efforts the fate of India now rests—not as that is likely to be affected by the desultory invasion of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, or the ravages of a Mahmoud Shah (these can be resisted and repelled by his agents), but as it is likely to suffer from the more serious attacks of a presumptuous and ignorant President of the Board of Control, or an illiberal and prejudiced Chairman of the Court of Directors. It is therefore against these that the great effort must be made, and the action which is to decide the destiny of our Indian Empire must be fought—upon the banks of the Thames, not on the banks of the Ganges.

You must consider the large questions which I have touched on in this letter with the aid of a thousand lights which I have not. I have written in the same manner as I have been accustomed to speak while partaking your favorite recreation (as reported by Scindiah's news-writer) of *Chehel cuddum*.* I leave for Ganjam on the 10th.

Yours ever most sincerely,

J. M.

To this the General returned the following reply: †

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Fort William, Sept. 14, 1804.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I have just received your letter of the

* Literally, "forty paces"—signifying any short distance, and alluding, I believe, to the General's habit of pacing the ground in front of his tent.

† At this period Arthur Wellesley, divested for a little space of the trappings of war, wrote a number of elaborate memoranda on the great military and political questions of the day; and despatched a most interesting series of private letters to Malcolm relative to the state of affairs at Calcutta. These letters exhibit, more unmistakeably than could anything else, the intimate and confidential relations subsisting between the two friends. There was not another man living to whom Arthur Wellesley would have written such letters. To say this, is to say that they are sacred.

4th. You are already acquainted with my intentions to go into the Deccan again, and I shall stay there as long as it may appear that my presence is necessary, owing to the state of affairs in Hindostan, and the consequences of Monson's defeat. But I acknowledge that I don't exactly see the necessity that I should stay several years in India in order to settle affairs which, if I had been permitted, I should have settled long ago, or any reason for which I should involve myself in fresh troubles and difficulties with which I have hitherto had no concern. I look to England, and I conceive that my views in life will be advanced by returning there. I don't conceive that any man has a right to call upon me to remain in a subordinate situation in this country, contrary to my inclination, only because it will suit his views, and will forward objects for which he has been laboring. If an officer in my situation is the proper person to be entrusted with the execution of the measures to secure those objects, there must be many equally capable with myself of performing those duties. If they are duties which require extraordinary qualifications in the person who is to perform them, let General Lake, or the Commander-in-Chief at Fort St. George, or anybody else, be charged with them. But surely it is not exactly reasonable to expect that I should remain in a subordinate situation, contrary to my inclination, only to involve myself in fresh troubles and difficulties. I am positively determined that, whether the Governor-General goes or stays, I quit India as soon as Holkar will be defeated. I don't exactly understand your reasoning about Malwah. Surely you don't suppose that I have the smallest objection to serve in any situation under the Commander-in-Chief? The question is, Am I to join his army without his permission, or without his expressing a wish that I should do so? The Governor-General gave him an opportunity of desiring that I should join it, of which he did not avail himself; on the contrary, he desired that I might return to the Deccan. If I am not to join his army, how am I to serve under him in Malwah? You forget where I am, the distance from Murray's corps, &c., &c.; and you also forget the state of inefficiency in which Murray's corps is, or at least appears to be. What, then, will be the result of my joining Murray's corps? That I must, in the first instance, endeavour to place it in security by making certain its supply of provisions; and, in the second, that I must afterwards follow the

limited plan of operations laid down for Murray, and which, I must say, that Murray or any other man is as equal to as I can be. This follows from the constitution of Murray's corps, and if Buonaparte himself was at the head of it, he could not overcome that defect. As for penetrating into Malwah with a force from the Deccan (I mean the countries south of the Taptee), that is a question which depends upon the state of the corps and of the season in Candeish, and other affairs in that quarter, of which I can be no judge till I shall arrive on the spot. I am very certain that it will be much more easy for General Lake to enter Malwah with a proper army from the northward, and that, if he does that, Holkar must be destroyed. You and I have frequently had discussions upon military and political subjects, the result of which has generally been that we don't much differ in opinion. You generally see what is right and what is desirable, I what is practicable; and in this instance I think I have taken a correct view of the subject. Nothing shall induce me to stay in India one moment after Holkar will be defeated. Accounts have been received from England of a date as late as the 7th of May. They are very satisfactory in respect to the operations of the late war. I have not a doubt but that the Ministry has been changed. Nothing new from the northward.

Ever, my dear Malcolm,

Yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Malcolm received this letter at Ganjam, for which place he had started in the middle of September.* The

* Whilst still at Vizagapatam, Malcolm received intelligence of the death of his brother William, who had for some time been in a hopeless condition. The letter of condolence which he wrote to his mother contains some passages which ought not to be omitted. "In my former letters," he wrote, "I had expressed my feelings on the loss we had all sustained in the death of our dear father. Your letter of the 2nd April, which reached me yesterday, informs me of the fate of poor William. May God in his mercy grant you, my dearest parent, strength to support those calamities. To you our eyes are now turned, and on your health and happiness must depend the happiness of us all. My uncle John has my full authority to extend the allowance made by me to any sum you may require, and let me entreat you, my dearest mother, to allow no false delicacy to prevent you enjoying every comfort and luxury that can make your valuable life pass in ease and affluence; and above all, I entreat you will indulge that desire which I know your excellent heart has of alleviating misery and relieving the poor. I am already a

tidings which it contained were to him of the utmost interest and importance. The glow of returning health was upon him. His heart was pulsing again with newly-revived hopes of splendid action beside the great soldier whose military glories he had been hitherto forbidden to share. Might not the future yet compensate the disappointments of an unfortunate past? More than a year had elapsed since the news of Wellesley's great victory at Assye had reached Malcolm at a distance, in sickness and inaction; but he had never ceased to lament the calamity of his enforced absence from that memorable field. But now there was a prospect of new triumphs to be achieved under the directing hand of the soldier-statesman, in whom he had such unbounded faith—triumphs which he now believed he would be permitted to share. Arthur Wellesley was about to return to the Deccan; and he had written to say that on his passage down the Bay of Bengal he would touch at Ganjam, and pick up Malcolm on his way to Madras. It was whilst the latter was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the *Bombay* frigate, that he wrote the following letter to his old friend Mr. Webbe, then Resident at Scindiah's Court:

COLONEL MALCOLM* TO MR. WEBBE.

Ganjam, Nov. 2, 1804.

MY DEAR WEBBE,—It is some time since I wrote to you, but in fact I have had nothing to communicate—not even respecting my own movements, which remain doubtful till General Wellesley's arrival, and when that will be, God knows, for I have literally been led to expect him every day for this last fortnight.

man of fortune; my wealth daily increases, and there is no purpose on earth to which it can be applied with so much pleasure to me, as in placing you in that state of affluence which your age and health require, and enabling you, by acts of charity and goodness, to gratify the best feelings of the human heart."

* Malcolm obtained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the 21st of September of this year.

He is, I imagine, reluctant to go to a scene where he conceives nothing can be done; but he is wrong, for his presence alone would effect wonders, in keeping those firm who are disposed to vacillate. When I reflect on the events which have occurred since I left you, and on the present undecided state of the contest with Holkar, I can conceive nothing more torturing than your situation at Scindiah's Court; and unless Holkar is completely defeated, and all impressions made by our former victories revived, that will daily become worse; and should fear prevent his becoming an open enemy, no hope of the full establishment of our influence, or of any benefit from the treaty of Boorhanpore, can be expected. The elevation of Surjee Rao to power will, I fear, be hurtful.* He will play the very devil with the whole race of Brahmins. All I desire is, that your health may continue good; and, if that is unimpaired, you will soon forget all your temporary vexations.

My health is now well restored, and two months of the cold weather will make me as strong as ever. Ingledew says that by returning to Camp I shall bring back the whole train of my complaints; but I am not of his opinion, and, if I were, it should not prevent my accompanying the General to the field, if he will permit me.

I feel (almost as a stain) my unfortunate absence from Assye and Argaum; and I shall rejoice in the most distant prospect of attending the General on similar occasions.

My trip to the Circars has been attended with much benefit to my family. Robert had been very ill; and his old Circar habits had, perhaps, in some degree, contributed to his bad health. I have weaned him from them entirely. I have made a settlement of his accounts and an arrangement of his affairs, by which he will be enabled to retire to the elbow-chair of his virtuous father at Burnfoot, whenever the pension of the Civil Fund comes to his turn. I have married Thomas to a charming young woman who was sincerely attached to him,† and the couple proceed in a month

* Surjee Rao Ghautka, whose daughter Scindiah had married, had obtained a predominant influence at Court, and was, both politically and morally, corrupting the mind of the young Prince. Malcolm's predictions were only too surely verified by the result.

† Thomas Malcolm was married to Miss Frances Deane. He died at Madras, in 1809, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom (George Alexander) was carried off, in his twenty-first year, at Teheran.—I understand Malcolm to mean that he actually performed the

to Bombay, under circumstances of such advantage as secure his making a speedy fortune.* . . . .

I am, very sincerely yours,
JOHN MALCOLM.

A few days later the *Bombay* frigate was off Ganjam, and Malcolm, delighted to rejoin his friend, embarked for Madras. After a few days spent at the Presidency, in the course of which he laid the foundation of a life-long friendship with Lord William Bentinck, who had succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Fort St: George, he proceeded with General Wellesley to Mysore. During all the time of his employment at Scindiah's Durbar he was nominally Resident in that country; but the detail duties of the administration had been entrusted to Major Wilks,† who had found in the native Minister Purneah a coadjutor as able as he was upright. No very absorbing duties, therefore, awaited Malcolm on his arrival at the Residency. Nor was there any immediate necessity for his formal assumption of the charge. In the mean while, however, the prospect of active employment on the theatre of war was rapidly fading away. Tidings of great successes achieved by the British troops in Hindostan soon reached Wellesley and Malcolm. Prepared to take the field at a moment's notice should

marriage-ceremony for his brother. In those days (chaplains being scarce) marriages were often solemnised by Political Agents.

* The rest of this letter is devoted to a characteristic communication relative to some English and Arab horses, in which both the writer and the recipient of the letter were interested. "There is a fine English blood-horse," says Malcolm, after speaking of other equine matters, "called *Champion*—son to *St. Peter*. I rode him two days ago, and was delighted with his action. His stretch at a gallop is wonderful, even for a horse of his height. His temper is excellent. *Legs* looks like a foal beside him; and yet the Arab's legs and sinews are greater than John Bull's. . . . . I mean to carry or send to England my fine horse *Sultan* (of whose superiority to everything in the known world Close will have written you). If you go home before me, you must receive and keep this wonder and perfection till my arrival."

† Mark Wilks, the historian of Southern India.

their services be required, they had intently watched the progress of events in Hindostan. At the commencement of the cold weather, Lake had set his battalions in motion, and had opened the campaign with a vigor and a success which promised the speedy demolition of Holkar's power. The capture of Deeg, after the rout of Jeswunt Rao's army in the open country, was a death-blow to the hopes of the great "freebooter;" and, as the hopelessness of his cause became more and more apparent, and the prospect of a permanent peace, therefore, less remote, General Wellesley began to think that the time had come when he might sheathe his sword for a while, and retire to his native country. Continued residence in India had been rendered, by many painful and embarrassing circumstances, distasteful to him in the extreme; the uncertainty of his position was harassing and annoying him, and his health and spirits were yielding to the pressure. There was no period, perhaps, of the great soldier's career to which he looked back, in after life, with less satisfaction than that embraced by the year 1804—the interval between the conclusion of the peace with Scindiah and his final departure from India. The services which he had rendered his country were not wholly unrequited, for the Indian communities had testified their admiration of his genius in a manner that must have cheered his heart; but the professional rewards to which the soldier ever looks, the public marks of approbation which only Governments can bestow, had been tardily forthcoming. He was kept in a subordinate position—regarded, perhaps, with something of envy by his military superiors. He was cramped —confined; he wanted scope for action. He felt a natural reluctance to quit the seat of war whilst he could do anything to serve his country and to promote the success of his brother's administration; but he was eager,

at the same time, to quit a scene where he felt that he might be compelled to act in defiance of his own judgment, and where even his best services seemed to gain neither meet recompense nor intelligent appreciation from the dispensers of public honors and professional rewards. All this was now made clear to Malcolm. He saw that his friend was fretting and tormenting himself; that a slow fever was preying upon him; that he was losing his strength and his energy;—how then could he any longer endeavour to persuade him to remain in India? With the new year, therefore, came new exhortations. In February, Malcolm wrote that General Wellesley would do well to set his face towards the West:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO MAJOR SHAWE.

Mysore, Feb. 4, 1805.

My dear Shawe,—The General (Wellesley) wrote you yesterday of the resolution he had taken to go to Europe unless he should find the Governor-General desirous of his remaining in India. He asked my opinion upon this point, and, after the fullest consideration of the question, I was satisfied that his returning to England at this crisis would, independent of the probable benefit to his personal interests and to his health—which latter has been, since he came here, very indifferent indeed—more essentially benefit the public service than his remaining in India. The information, experience, military fame, and public character which General Wellesley combines, must give his opinion an irresistible force; and he will be able to exhibit in so clear and convincing a light the wisdom and necessity of every measure that has been adopted, that I must anticipate, as one consequence of his return, an unqualified approbation of every past proceeding, and a firm and manly support of Lord Wellesley's future administration, or of any other conducted upon the same principle and policy.

After the destruction of Holkar's infantry and guns we can certainly have nothing serious to fear from any Native power in India;

but I am not sanguine enough to think that the waves which have been so violently agitated will immediately subside. It will, no doubt, require years to bring to maturity a system which has for its ultimate object the complete tranquillisation of India. Nothing, however, can prevent the final and happy accomplishment of that great end but an opposition on the part of the ruling power in England to the principles and measures of Lord Wellesley's administration; and I therefore consider the danger from that quarter to be much more imminent than from any other, and it is for that cause it should be encountered by the man who is most likely to command success.

I have most strongly advised General Wellesley not to withdraw his views from India. He owes to himself, to his family, and to his country a sacrifice of private comfort to public duty; and as this consideration will also lead him to desire employment, he should prefer the scene of which he has most knowledge, provided there is a disposition to employ him there in a station adequate to his rank and pretensions. If the wisdom of past proceedings is recognised, and it is determined to give that unreserved support which the present state of India so urgently demands, both results which I have anticipated as consequences of General Wellesley's return, I can have little doubt but that he will soon be sent to India in a station suitable to his talents; and if this support should be withheld, I conclude neither his Lordship nor General Wellesley would remain one hour longer than some public exigency might require their presence.

Taking as comprehensive a view as I can of the present state of our power in India, both as that is likely to be disturbed or attacked by Native or European enemies, I deem Bombay the point of the greatest importance of all our possessions, and I consider a complete change of the whole character of the Government to be essential to our safety as well as to our prosperity. I know no man so well calculated to effect this as General Wellesley. And I consider his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief (with less powers than these united offices he could do little good) would secure complete success to this great national object. The late changes in the Mahratta Empire, and the efficient military checks which must at some period be established over that nation—the vicinity to Bombay of the subsidiary corps with Scindiah and

the Peishwah—upon whose efficiency, and the support they may receive, the peace of India may materially rest—the likelihood of the French directing an attack against that settlement—the advance of the Russians towards the Persian Gulf, and a thousand other causes, demand at this particular crisis the departure from a general rule, and the powers of two stations, which in ordinary times it may be wise to separate, should be centred in one man, that the public may have the full benefit of his ability and experience. This arrangement would, I think, be made without difficulty, if it were resolved to give an honest and hearty support to the principles of Lord William's administration. If not, Jonathan and his expedients may, under the favor of a protecting Providence, go on very well for a few years longer, but we shall never be right till that whole system of government has had a radical reform. I write all this without General Wellesley's knowledge, though I am satisfied, from a conversation I had with him some days ago, that he would consider such a station as highly desirable—1st, as it presented in its immediate occupation a rich harvest of reputation—2nd, as it opened the road to higher honors.*

I mentioned the General being unwell. He appears plagued with a slow fever. He frets himself, which I never knew him do before. He told me yesterday he believed his illness was partly caused by the anxiety and vexation of not being able to decide, in a manner satisfactory to himself, the question of going to Europe. He thinks he has been shamefully used in not being put upon the Staff, &c., &c. As he goes lean, I get into condition. I am now as stout as ever again.

Believe me yours, &c., &c.,

JOHN MALCOLM.

So Wellesley, meditating a speedy return to England, went down to Madras, and Malcolm, abandoning his high

* On the following day, Malcolm wrote to General Wellesley himself: "If either you or your brother (Henry Wellesley) should return to India, I should of course be (upon personal considerations) as much at your command as I am now at that of Lord Wellesley. With respect to yourself, I feel that no wealth or rank could place me above the desire of acting under your orders, or being attached to your person, in whatever quarter of the globe your abilities are employed." —[*Mysore, Feb.* 26, 1805.]

hopes of another glorious campaign, began to turn his thoughts towards a life of literary leisure at the Mysore Residency, the chief event of which was to be the compilation of a History of Persia.*

From Madras, General Wellesley wrote repeatedly to Malcolm. "I determined last night upon going to England," he wrote on the 17th of February. "Five ships arrived this morning, which left England on the 4th of September. General Lake was made Lord Lake of Delhi and Laswarree, and I a Knight of the Bath, on the 1st of September." On the following day he wrote again, saying, "The Admiral has offered me a passage in the *Trident*, but I am afraid that I have paid for one in the *Marchioness of Exeter*." "I cannot express to you," he wrote a week later, "how much distressed I am at going away and parting with my friends in this country."†

* It appears that he assumed charge of the Residency at the commencement of the new year. To Lord W. Bentinck he wrote, on the 23rd of December: "It is not improbable but the late brilliant success which has attended our arms may prevent General Wellesley from going to Poonah; in which case I shall immediately assume charge of the Residency." A month afterwards he wrote to Lord Wellesley: "As General Wellesley has, for reasons which he has stated to your Lordship, abandoned his intention of immediately proceeding to the Deccan, I have resumed the charge of this Residency, and have removed to the city of Mysore, where I am happy to say the Dewan and all the public officers of the Circar are now permanently established. It is my intention to take advantage of the leisure which I shall enjoy at the Residency, to digest the materials that I have collected respecting the Persian Empire into some kind of form, and I feel confident that I shall be able to add considerably to the information already before Government respecting that important quarter, which must soon become an object of the most serious attention to Great Britain. Though the prospect of accomplishing this task is in a manner worthy of your Lordship's approbation, and the nature of the duties of this Residency makes me feel sincerely attached to the very honorable situation I now hold, I nevertheless entreat your Lordship will not cease to consider me as prepared to undertake, at a moment's warning, any service whatever on which you may conceive I would be employed with advantage to the public interests. . . . . My health is at last well established, and I should now feel confident of its enabling me to go through any scene of fatigue."

† In another letter to Malcolm, written on board ship, Sir Arthur Wellesley says: "I cannot express to you the concern which I felt at leaving Madras; indeed, I feel it still. But I am convinced that I never took a step with the propriety of which I have so much reason to be satisfied—whether I view it in relation to my private views, or to the public interests."

"I go on board to-day," he wrote on the 9th of March. The *Trident* was to convey him to England. He embarked in very bad health; but he speedily recovered under the invigorating influence of the sea-breezes and the tranquillity of mind resulting from a settled purpose. "I am convinced," he wrote to Malcolm from St. Helena, "that if I had not quitted India, I should have had a serious fit of illness. I was wasting away daily; and latterly, when at Madras, I found my strength failed, which had always before held out. I do not recollect, for many years, to have been so well as I have felt latterly, particularly since I have been here."

General Wellesley went to England — never to return to the scene of his early triumphs. He went; but the friendship thus formed between the two men was the friendship of a life. In Malcolm's eyes, Arthur Wellesley had been from the first the *beau-idéal* of a soldier-statesman. He had early prophesied his coming glories, and now he looked eagerly for the fulfilment which he never doubted. The correspondence between them was only interrupted by death. The foremost man of the age cherished the same affection for John Malcolm as did the young General in the Mahratta camp; and never did he hold out the hand of fellowship with more cordial familiarity to his old friend than when all Europe was ringing with the name of the man who had just conquered the great conqueror on the battle-field of Waterloo.

Malcolm's dreams of repose were very soon disturbed. Early in November, Lord Wellesley had written a letter to him, intimating, though not very distinctly, a wish to see him in Calcutta, and Major Shawe had written at the same time more clearly and decidedly upon the subject. The letters, of which, on many accounts, I subjoin the former, were not received till after Malcolm had reached Mysore:

LORD WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Barrackpore, Nov. 2, 1804.

MY DEAR MAJOR,*—I return you many thanks for your several kind letters, especially for your congratulations on my supposed honors. His Majesty, however, has not been pleased to signify any approbation of my services, nor am I aware that any mark of his royal favor has been conferred on me, or any officer employed under me, excepting Lord Clive. I am not certain of the views of the present administration with regard to the system of government and policy in India, although I have received a very kind and flattering letter from Mr. Pitt. In these times, no man can repose confidence beyond the limits of his own conduct, judgment, and conscience; resting upon these foundations, I entertain no fear for this empire as long as it may remain in my hands, nor for my own reputation whenever I may relinquish my present charge. The ultimate result of councils placed beyond the reach of my knowledge or influence I cannot anticipate. It would be an infirmity of mind to deplore evils which I can neither prevent nor remedy, which originate in principles contradictory to the whole tenor of my policy, and which cannot affect my character with the present age, or with succeeding times. I shall rejoice if the fabric, which has grown up to so proud an eminence under my care, shall be strengthened and secured by similar councils; but if it should be destroyed, I shall contemplate the progress of the work of demolition without remorse, if not without concern, from a retreat which can want neither security nor respect while a trace of the British constitution or of the British national spirit shall remain in England. When I speak of retreat, however, I *request* you not to understand me to intend any conduct so unmanly and unworthy of an hereditary councillor of the empire as a retirement from the public councils of the nation. I will not hold any office under the Crown in such times. But I will never abandon the duty of a free and full declaration in Parliament of my sentiments on every branch of public affairs, especially that which has been so long entrusted to my management; and they who may be disposed to govern the empire on *improved* principles, shall at least have the full merit of a public, broad, and irreconcileable difference of opinion with me.

* Malcolm's promotion, as Lieutenant-Colonel, was not then gazetted. It took effect retrospectively from the 21st of September.

I shall be glad to see you here whenever you choose to move this way. General Wellesley probably left the pilot this morning in the *Bombay* frigate for Madras. I have been very unwell for a long time, and at present continue much indisposed.—Yours ever sincerely, WELLESLEY.

If the letters conveying the wishes of the Governor-General to see Malcolm at the Presidency had reached him on the coast, he would at once have taken ship for Calcutta. But before they were put into his hand he had made his way to Mysore. He was again the companion of General Wellesley—again likely to accompany him in the field. "It has been a subject of much regret to me," wrote Malcolm from Seringapatam, a few days before Christmas, "that your Lordship's desire to see me in Calcutta (as communicated by Major Shawe) did not reach me at Ganjam. In joining General Wellesley, and preparing to attend him to the field, I followed the impulse of duty; and though the late splendid events in Hindostan may perhaps render the General's visit to the Deccan unnecessary, I am assured my conduct on this occasion will be judged consistent with my zeal in the public service, and my personal gratitude and attachment to your Lordship."

The departure of General Wellesley removed what it has been seen was the chief cause of Malcolm's detention in that part of the country. He had been thinking of a season of repose and literary leisure—of the History of Persia which was to grow under his hand as he environed himself with the luxurious quiet of the Mysore Residency. But the summons to Calcutta was renewed. The Governor-General felt that he needed his council—perhaps, that he would soon need his services on a new theatre of action. So in the month of March Malcolm quitted Mysore, and in the course of April again found himself deep in the councils of Government House in Calcutta.

When Malcolm reached Calcutta the great question which occupied the mind of Lord Wellesley was the state of our relations with Holkar and Scindiah, and the course of policy which it behoved him to pursue towards those chiefs. With the former we had then been at war for many months; war which had opened with disaster to our arms, but had since been prosecuted with continued success. Scarcely had we concluded the treaties with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, which promised to restore peace to Hindostan, than the great "free-booter" Jeswunt Rao Holkar rose up in arms against us. The distraction of the Mahratta Empire had been the great source of his new-born greatness. His power resided not in the extent of his territorial possessions, but in the number of his adherents. With an overgrown army, and no substantive source of revenue from which to draw their pay, a state of peace was to him a state of difficulty and danger, from which he was continually endeavouring to extricate himself by some new act of outrage and rapine. His standard was the common rallying point of all the disbanded soldiery of Upper India, and of all those lawless spirits who desired rather to enrich themselves by plunder than to rise by honest industry or professional desert. He had no settled Government. His empire was, indeed, the empire of the saddle. But he was bold, lawless, unscrupulous; and he had sixty thousand horsemen and an imposing park of artillery always at his call.

To what extent and in what manner it was desirable to interfere with the concerns of the Holkar family—whether it were expedient to apply to the state of things which had arisen in consequence of the growing power of Jeswunt Rao the principle of counterpoise, and to depress Holkar by elevating Scindiah; whether it were advisable to interfere in the internal relations of the

former family, and, by supporting another member of it to the injury of Jeswunt Rao, secure the allegiance of the former; or whether it behoved us to regard Holkar as any other prince, and deal with him for good or for evil —for peace or for war—as the circumstances of his own conduct might suggest, were questions which at this time were warmly discussed by Lord Wellesley and his advisers, and debated by the authorities at home.

The subject was one which had engaged much of Malcolm's attention. From Scindiah's camp he had written to Mr. Edmonstone many long private letters on the Holkar question, which had been submitted to Lord Wellesley. It was, in his opinion, our soundest policy to depress the power of that chief by elevating and upholding Scindiah:

"The command," he wrote, "of an army far beyond his means to pay, forbids any expectation being formed of Jeswunt Rao Holkar ever settling into quiet. The personal character of that chief is also against that hope. The personal character of Scindiah, on the contrary, inclines him to peace, and he will only be roused into action by the clamors of his plunder-loving adherents, who will not be content to starve, and he no longer has the means of feeding them. In short, I will confess to you in confidence, that if I were (with my present experience) called upon to give my opinion again upon the subject of the late peace, I should give it either for his total extinction, or for his being left with possessions more adequate to the rank he had obtained among the states of India; and in the latter case I should hope, by securing his alliance, to make him a check upon all the other plunderers of India, and to establish by degrees an influence and control over his Government that would secure it for ever in the British interests. This, I am satisfied, would have been done with perfect ease. These are my sentiments, communicated in confidence to you."

In another letter, after arguing at considerable length against the policy of supporting the claims of another

member of the Holkar family* to the exclusion of our enemy, he had enumerated still more emphatically the same opinions as those recorded above:

"Should we be completely successful," he wrote, "in the event of Jeswunt Rao's rashness provoking war, it would be most advisable to destroy altogether the power and independence of the Holkar family, the different branches of which might, on a general partition, be assigned moderate jaghirs. Such an event would, I am satisfied, tend to simplify the politics and to consolidate the peace of India. The fact is, that family have no possessions in territory that are equal to the support of one half of the troops which their chiefs are in the habit of maintaining; and that army must be paid by plunder, and that (as long as the Holkar family continues on its present footing) will be the system by which its power will be preserved. Scindiah has hitherto pursued the same system, but his Government is more regular, and was, before the late war, possessed of much greater resources; and confident hopes may be entertained that, under the operations of his new relations with the British Government, his state will assume a more settled shape, and endeavour to make its receipts answer its disbursements. Under present circumstances, I think that the interest of the British Government would be promoted by this State acquiring additional territory, provided that such was not, from local position, likely to give it means of offensive measures against the English Government or its allies; and the regainment of part of the Holkar possessions, which were delivered over to Jeswunt Rao at the opening of this war, would recover this state from its present distress, make it more equal to the duties of friendship, and attach it to an alliance from which it had derived such early and essential benefit."

But these views had found no favor with Lord Wellesley. When the letter containing these passages was submitted to him, he had taken the ever-ready pencil, and in his quick, impulsive way, interpolated, in place of commentary, a few emphatic words—so that the con-

* Cashee Rao Holkar.

cluding sentence now stands thus in the original before me—"make it more equal to the duties of friendship [*by a full participation of the fruits of plunder—cement the relations of outrage by a community of rapine*], and attach it to an alliance from which it had derived such early and essential benefit [*by lucrative murders and successful robberies*]"—interpolations which would have been pregnant with truth if it had been proposed to alienate, in Scindiah's favor, any existing rights. But Holkar himself was only a robber. That which he had taken by force might be taken from him again without injustice in a war of his own provocation. And Malcolm was right when he contended that a powerful state is at all times a safer neighbour than a weak and distracted one.

These opinions, conceived in the same spirit as had influenced his conduct with respect to the Gwalior question, had been delivered a year before the period of which I am now writing. The interval had been an eventful one. Holkar had been openly arrayed against us in the field; and Scindiah had been fast relapsing into a state of undisguised hostility. Malcolm was not wrong when he wrote that the natural character of the young Maharajah promised well for the continuance of friendly relations. But Scindiah had yielded himself up to the sinister influences of a bold, bad man, who had gained a vicious ascendancy over him by pandering to his pleasures; and the better part of the young Prince's nature was now utterly obscured. Surjee Rao Ghautka, who had given his daughter in marriage to Scindiah, was now dominant at Court. He hated the English; and exerted all the evil energy of his character to infuse the same bitter feeling into the young Maharajah who was at once his master and his slave. The loss of Gwalior, which had never ceased to rankle in Scindiah's mind,

rendered the task of the Minister an easy one. It was soon apparent that the obligations of the treaty into which he had entered with the British would be grudgingly, if at all, fulfilled—that, so far from his aiding us in our operations against Holkar, there was every prospect of his aiding Holkar against us—that he was secretly intriguing with the Rajah of Berar and other chiefs, with the view of forming a general confederacy against the British—that he was increasing his military resources, consolidating his army, and instead of retiring quietly to his capital and busying himself with the internal administration of the country, maintaining a menacing attitude, and holding himself in continual readiness for war. We knew not at what moment he might not break out into open hostility, and appeal to the God of Battles against the decisions of Laswarree and Assye.

In the spring of 1805 it was evident that a crisis was rapidly approaching. Mr. Webbe, who had succeeded Malcolm at Scindiah's Court, had fallen sick there and died. The charge of the Residency had, therefore, passed into the hands of Mr. Richard Jenkins—a very young man; but one of good parts and great promise afterwards abundantly fulfilled. Seldom has so youthful a diplomatist found himself in so difficult and hazardous a position as that into which Mr. Webbe's assistant was now unexpectedly thrown. The representative of the British Government had long been treated with disrespect. He was now to be subjected to open insult. In the month of January, a party of Scindiah's Pindarrees attacked and plundered the Residency, and wounded two of the officers attached to it. This, although Scindiah himself declared that he was in nowise a party to the outrage, was believed to be only a prelude to further acts of violence. Affairs were in this state when Malcolm was summoned to Calcutta.

He reached the Presidency on the 17th of April. At the date of the last advices from Upper India Lord Lake was laying siege to Bhurtpore. Jenkins had demanded permission to quit Scindiah's camp, but had been detained by that chief, who was proposing to march down to the seat of war. He said that he was going only as a mediator—but Mahratta guile was too easy to fathom for that excuse to be accepted, and it seemed that the crisis was at hand. In such a conjuncture what was to be done? The councils in which Malcolm was now invited to take part were distinguished by much discordance of opinion and much vehemence of debate. A little while before there would have been less doubt and less discussion. The policy to be pursued in such a conjuncture would have been mapped out with a bold and decided hand. But Lord Wellesley was now on the eve of retirement from office. He was every day expecting to hear of the appointment of his successor. He was weary and heart-sick of the long-continued strife which he had maintained with the authorities at home. It was easy to say that the "glorious little man" was losing all his old courage—was shaken in his high resolves. But it was not easy to bear up against the irritating assaults of his enemies and the galling desertion of his friends. Whatever may have been the sympathy and support which a steady adhesion to his old policy would have secured to him from the statesmen of India, he knew that he could look for neither sympathy nor support from England; and to England was he now carrying his reputation. The "great game" may have suited those who were not responsible for its success or failure. And Lord Wellesley would still, perhaps, not have shrunk from it, if he could have seen it played out. But he knew that he would have been held responsible for measures initiated, but not prosecuted to their completion,

by himself; and there were many considerations which enveloped the issue of another war with a mist of doubt and uncertainty.*

There was enough in all this to induce Lord Wellesley to look favorably upon every honorable pretext that presented itself for the avoidance of a rupture with Scindiah. Against Ghautka his righteous anger was extreme; but for the young Maharajah himself he entertained some feelings of compassion. When, therefore, he received a letter of imperfect explanation, written in the name of the young Prince, he declared himself willing to receive it "as a satisfactory atonement for the insult to the British Residency." And Mr. Jenkins was instructed to inform Scindiah, that if he acted up to his professions, no demand would be made upon him for the value of the plundered property.† At the same time it was to be intimated to him that either Colonel Malcolm, or Mr. Græme Mercer, was to be deputed on a special mission to the Maharajah's Court.‡

* In one of the last letters written in India by General Wellesley, he said: "I hope to God we shall be able to avoid a war with Scindiah. Take my word for it, we are not now in a state to attempt the conquest of Malwah—an operation which, under other circumstances, would be a mere joke. The army to whose share it would naturally fall is now drawn to the Jumna by the Commander-in-Chief; there is not a Sepoy at Bombay, and very few Sepoys and not two hundred Europeans in Guzerat. The Peishwah's subsidiary force is not yet efficient; and if it were, neither that corps nor the Soubah's subsidiary force could be moved from the Deccan with safety. You see the lives and time that have been spent in the attempt to subdue the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and you will see that the army of Bengal will not be clear of that country before the season comes round in which it will be necessary for them to go into cantonments. I, therefore, most anxiously hope that all that can be done with honor will be done to preserve peace with Scindiah as long as possible."

† Among the plunder was about five thousand pounds' worth of property belonging to the estate of Mr. Webbe.

‡ It was left to Mr. Jenkins' discretion to communicate this to Scindiah, or not, as might seem best at the time. The original sketch of the Instructions, in Lord Wellesley's handwriting, is now before me. The Governor-General says: "Mr. Jenkins to be informed that Colonel Malcolm or Mr. Mercer (perhaps both) will proceed to join Scindiah as soon as possible to aid him in settling his Government, and to deliver over to him part of Holkar's territories. Some time must elapse, however, and Scindiah in the mean while should be urged to return to the southward. Mr. Jenkins will commu-

Again had Lord Wellesley determined to "send Malcolm." No man was more likely to exercise a favorable influence over the mind of the misguided Prince, and to bring him to regard the English as his best and safest friends. The policy of which he was to be the agent was of an eminently conciliatory character. This had not been determined upon without much stormy discussion. There were other advisers of Lord Wellesley who thought that it became him, in the conjuncture that had arisen, utterly to demolish the power of Scindiah, and to strip him of the means of ever disturbing us again. Malcolm, on the other hand, who was not without some misgivings as to the justice of our past conduct towards Scindiah, was eager rather to strengthen and enrich, than to weaken and impoverish him. He believed, as has been shown, that it was our true policy to secure his friendship and co-operation by proving to him that the successful issue of the war against Holkar would be to him a solid advantage. And though Lord Wellesley had some time before, with reference to this very proposition, spoken of "lucrative robberies" and "community of rapine," he now gave in his adhesion to the plan which Malcolm so warmly advocated. The conduct of Holkar had, indeed, removed all the Governor-General's compunctions, and justified, in his eyes, a course of policy which, a year before, he conceived it his

nicate the appointment of Colonel Malcolm and Mr. Mercer to Scindiah, or be silent on that subject, as he may judge expedient. It is possible that Lord Lake may have sent Mr. Mercer to Scindiah." The draft of these Instructions was submitted to Malcolm, who wrote on a scrap of paper: "If a communication of the probable mission of Colonel Malcolm or Mr. Mercer be made to Scindiah, that chief should be distinctly informed that the expectation of the arrival of either of these gentlemen was on no account to be made a pretext for Scindiah's remaining longer in his present position. On the contrary, that his delaying, on any point, to act in a manner consistent with his engagements, was likely to prevent the mission of either of these gentlemen." On this memorandum Lord Wellesley scrawled "Approved, W.;" and the substance of it was embodied in the Instructions.

duty to resist. He had, too, been charged with lust of dominion. There had been a continued outcry at home against his acquisitions of territory. It was necessary that Holkar should pay the penalty of his offences against the British Government. What better, then, could we do than enrich Scindiah at Holkar's expense?

Malcolm had always said that a political agent could never negotiate so well as at the head of an army. It was arranged now that he should proceed at once to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, to carry out whatsoever negotiations the progress of events might render necessary or expedient. His sojourn at the Presidency was very brief. He spent less than a fortnight at Calcutta. But this brief season had been, both on public and private grounds, full of interest and importance to him. It had brought him again face to face with Lord Wellesley, and had witnessed their entire reconciliation. Some of Malcolm's best friends had written him, that after what had passed with respect to the Gwalior controversy they could not be wholly satisfied until there had been such a renewal of the old cordiality of personal intercourse—a full and frank assurance on both sides of the continued existence of the former confidence and affection. Nothing was now wanting to wipe out utterly from the memory all thought of the brief estrangement; and they parted, as they had parted two years before, with the fullest faith in one another.

CHAPTER XIII.

LORD LAKE'S CAMP.

[1805—1806.]

JOURNEY TO THE NORTH—ARRIVAL AT HEAD-QUARTERS—MALCOLM AND METCALFE—LORD CORNWALLIS GOVERNOR-GENERAL—MALCOLM'S PERPLEXITIES—SUCCESSION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW—THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH—RESTORATION OF GWALIOR AND GOHUD—PURSUIT OF HOLKAR—THE PEACE.

AND now Malcolm again turned his back upon the vice-regal city, and set his face towards the theatre of war. As he journeyed northward through the sultry summer weather, many subjects of anxious meditation broke in upon the solitude of his palanquin. Eminently cheerful and sanguine as he was—never giving himself up to useless regrets or dispiriting reflections, but finding always around him objects of immediate interest and instruction, he still could not help reverting with a transient feeling of melancholy to the scenes which he had just quitted, and looking onward to those which lay before him with painful doubts and forebodings. He had bidden adieu to Lord Wellesley perhaps for ever. The close connexion which had so long subsisted between them was now nearly at an end. In a few months—or a few weeks—it would be Malcolm's duty to serve and to obey another master. And it was little less than a certainty that he must either become the agent of a new

system of policy, or else close his portfolio and reluctantly retire from the scene.

When he started from Calcutta it was not yet known who was to be Lord Wellesley's successor. But such then was the temper not only of the East India Company but of the Crown Government, that it was not doubted, whoever might be the man appointed, the measures dictated from home would be very different from those which Malcolm, in such a crisis, would have prescribed. Indeed, he had seen with regret that Lord Wellesley, wrought upon by the conduct of the Court of Directors and the Ministers of the day, and alarmed by the financial difficulties in which his Government was involved, had recently betrayed a disposition towards compromises and concessions utterly at variance with the natural vigor of his mind and the boldness of his foregone policy. The "great game," it was only too certain, was not to be played out. To Malcolm this was a disquieting reflection. So much had already been done to secure a lasting peace, that it seemed to him demanded both by our own national policy and by the interests of humanity that we should set a crown upon the work.

But everything was against the consummation he so much desired. The season was so far advanced that there was necessarily a lull in our military operations. Whilst Malcolm was journeying to Upper India, Lord Lake was making arrangements for the withdrawal of his army to summer-quarters. Nothing decisive could be done for several months, and during that interval of time it was certain that there would be a change of Government. Holkar was not yet beaten; and the insolence of Scindiah's Court demanded something more than a stern rebuke. For the former chief Malcolm had no compassion; he regarded him as a freebooter, and would have treated him as one. But he could not help lament-

ing that the outrages of an unprincipled Minister were about again to bring us into collision with the young Maharajah, with whom he had laughed and frolicked a year before, and who, under better guidance than that of his infamous father-in-law, would have taken a very respectable place among the princes of the East.

Pondering these things by the way, Malcolm posted with all speed up the country, and on the 20th of May he was at Lucknow. From this place he wrote a long letter to his old friend General Wellesley, which gives so clear a view of the state of Mahratta politics at that time, and of the influences which were brought to bear upon them, that I shall do well to insert the bulk of it, in place of any explanations of my own:

"You will be surprised," he wrote, "to observe from whence this letter is written, but not more so than I am. To make a long story short, soon after you sailed I was summoned to Calcutta. I lost no time in obeying, and arrived on the 17th of April. I found it was determined that Close should remain in the Deccan, where he was invested with the political and military control, and that I should proceed to Dowlut Rao Scindiah. During my short stay at Calcutta I had enough of discussion. All the old ground was gone over. After much heat, if not violence, we were all of the same opinion; and I left Lord Wellesley on the 30th ultimo—I believe as high in his good opinion as I have ever been since our first acquaintance. Lord Lake had at that date disengaged himself from Bhurtpore. Scindiah was advanced to the Chumbul near Dholpore, and that arch-scoundrel Surjee Rao Ghautka had moved forward on a pretended mission to Lord Lake, but with a real view of reconciling Holkar to Scindiah. He succeeded, and carried that chief back with him to Dowlut Rao's camp. It was resolved that Lord Lake should insist on Scindiah's retreating—that he should further require the dismissal of Ghautka, as an indispensable condition of our maintaining those more friendly relations of friendship that had been established by the treaty of defensive alliance. If this was agreed to, Scindiah was to be immediately vigorously supported. If not, and he com-

mitted no act of aggression, the more intimate relations of friendship were to be suspended, and the Resident withdrawn, until his councils were more to be depended upon; but the treaty of peace was to be maintained. In the event of Scindiah committing any hostile act, or maintaining himself on the frontier after he had been desired to withdraw, he was of course to be attacked. I have not got regular accounts of what has passed since I left Calcutta; but I learn from Lord Lake, of whom I have accounts to the 16th of May, that on his moving forward to the Chumbul, Scindiah and Holkar made a most precipitate retreat. They have continued ever since encamped within about fifteen coss* of Kotah. Scindiah continues to make the most friendly professions—but his actions are the contrary. He is, in fact, no longer master of himself. His army is composed of Pindarrees, and he is a puppet in the hands of plunderers. Ghautka and Holkar direct everything. . . . . It is Lord Wellesley's intention (and I am satisfied it is a wise one) to leave them to themselves, if he can do so without a sacrifice of honor, and to remain upon the defensive. But I fear this will be difficult unless some speedy revolution in their councils occurs, as the conduct observed to Mr. Jenkins will oblige us to take some strong measures.

"The war with Holkar is, I understand, disapproved at home, and Lord Wellesley's proposed arrangement in the event of that chief being subdued is found great fault with. . . . . What, in the name of God, can tempt men who profess their desire for peace, to take such pains to prevent its conclusion by circumscribing the means which the local authorities may possess of effecting it? A death, a desertion, or a battle may in a moment change the whole course of policy, and it may become our interest to move on to destroy either Scindiah or Holkar—and why not, if we are at war with them, and we are convinced that the existence of their power in any shape is incompatible with the general tranquillity? . . . . . We have not a difficulty to encounter except such as may arise from the local Government being deterred by an apprehension of the authorities in England from employing the vast means it possesses to effect the full and speedy establishment of general tranquillity. But when I see the desire of preserving the temper of the Directors supersede that of destroying our

* Thirty miles.

enemies, I tremble for the existence of the British empire in India, which appears fore-doomed to fall upon a question of *two per cent.*

"I conclude, from the accounts I have received from Calcutta, that Lord Wellesley will certainly leave Calcutta in August or September. It appears impossible he can stay. Much rests upon his name; and with a better opinion than the world have in general of his successor, I cannot but fear that he will not prove equal to the crisis. He will, I fear, sacrifice much to what is called the maintenance of our financial credit, by which is meant 'not raising the present interest'—for as to our credit, it never was higher; and money can be had in any quantity, provided it is paid for, which it must be whenever extraordinary supplies are required. In my opinion, this desire of keeping down the interest, when doing so evidently prevents our obtaining the necessary supplies, will be found on examination to be more connected with personal than with public feeling—for assuredly the prosperity of our finance must after all depend on our political state, and when the latter is insecure, how can the former be prosperous? But, unfortunately, the controlling authorities look more to temporary than permanent objects—and who dare to prefer the public interest to their views? Lord Wellesley has ventured to do so; and failed. He is obliged to retire because Ministers plainly tell him they cannot support him in measures which, though calculated to promote the good of his country, are not approved by the Court of Directors."

From Lucknow Malcolm proceeded to the banks of the Chumbul, where Lord Lake's army was then encamped, and reached Head-quarters just as the force was being broken up and dismissed to cantonments at Agra, Futtehpore, and Muttra. At the last-named station the Commander-in-Chief and his Staff were to repose during the hot months. Thither Malcolm accompanied the Head-quarters' Camp, and soon took a leading part in its councils. He now found himself among new friends, and, for the first time, on service with the Bengal Army. His arrival had created no little sensation in Camp.

There were many there familiar with his name and his reputation, who had long desired to see the man of whom they had heard so much, and who now were not disappointed. He was doubly welcome at Lord Lake's headquarters. He was welcome on his own account. His fine personal qualities ever rendered him popular both with young and old; and his presence contributed much to the cheerfulness of the Camp. But he was welcome also as one who was believed to be at the head of the war party—or rather one who would not willingly consent to any peace but an honorable and a lasting one.

Among others whom Malcolm now for the first time enters on his list of friends is a young Bengal civilian. A few days after his arrival in Lake's camp he might be seen pacing the floor of his tent side by side with a short, stout youth of twenty, whose up-turned, homely-featured face is bright with good humor and intelligence. They are deep in the discussion of Mahratta politics and the character of Lord Wellesley. The more they talk the more apparent is the coincidence of opinion between them. They might have stood all their lives as now in the position of master and pupil. Both are eager for the vigorous prosecution of the war—both are ardent admirers of Lord Wellesley, "sorrowing most of all that they shall see his face no more." But it presently transpires—implied rather than declared between them—that neither thinks the "glorious little man" altogether what he once was. Such, however, still is their loyalty and affection, that both are half inclined to accompany him to England; and whether they shall do so or not is now earnestly discussed between them. They talk about their plans and their prospects—both full of enthusiasm, building lofty castles in the air; and whilst Charles Metcalfe feels his ambition kindling again under the

charmings of his new friend, and thinks he has now found one whose footsteps he may safely follow, John Malcolm recognises with delight the early growth of the young civilian's great qualities, and sees in him one destined to do all honor to his early training in the grand Wellesleyan school, and to uphold its principles, God willing, through half a century of good service. Fifteen years afterwards, when both were in high place, Malcolm reminded Metcalfe of the days when they paced together the tent at Muttra, and built castles in the air.

One of the foremost topics of conversation between them, at this time, was the appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the Governor-Generalship of India, tidings of which greeted Malcolm soon after his arrival in Lord Lake's camp. They well knew what it portended. Both had great respect for the aged Marquis, based upon his antecedent career; but they thought that he now jeopardised his great reputation by consenting to return to India with shackled hands, as the tool of the Court of Directors. Malcolm, who knew so well the system of policy upon which we were then constructing our Indian Empire, regarded with the liveliest apprehension anything resembling a retrograde movement. How strongly he felt on the subject may be gathered from the following passage of a letter written to Major Shawe from the Head-Quarters' Camp at Muttra:

"Every day confirms me in the opinion I at first formed, that it was only by the most spirited and decided policy that we can hope to preserve the vast advantages we have gained; and under any other course, particularly one that includes a relaxation in the state of our military preparation, we shall run a risk of a very serious reverse of fortune. It was a true saying which the great Lord Clive applied to the progress of the British empire in India —'To stop is dangerous; to recede, ruin.' And if we do recede, either from our right pretensions and claims—nay, if we look as

if we thought of receding—we shall have a host of enemies, and thousands who dare not even harbor a thought of opposing the irresistible tide of our success, will hasten to attack a nation which shows by diffidence in its own power that it anticipates its downfall. These considerations make me very low about the state of the empire, for though Lord Cornwallis may prove true to his own principles, what bond of security can he have taken against an attack similar to that which has been made upon Lord Wellesley? Must not the same causes produce the same effects; and can any Governor-General, unless he is base enough to sacrifice the national interests at the shrine of those of the East India Company, expect that he will receive support, or even avoid attack? And such, when repeated, must destroy the whole system—not only because it will be impossible to find men of rank and character who will expose themselves to such a vexatious and disgraceful warfare, but because all confidence in the subordinate officers of Government must be destroyed. These will soon suit their conduct to the times; and they will as often see a prospect of advancing their personal interests in opposing and counteracting, as in aiding and promoting, the measures of the local government."

In the same letter, Malcolm thus speaks of himself and his unaltered attachment to Lord Wellesley:

"I feel almost ashamed to speak of myself; but as some days must elapse before I can collect the information necessary to write to Lord Wellesley himself, and as some accident may hurry you aboard, I cannot delay a few words on that subject. I feel that it is superfluous to make any professions of my gratitude or unalterable attachment to Lord Wellesley. The conduct of that nobleman to me since his first arrival in India, but particularly the extreme of kindness with which he treated me when last at Calcutta, has bound me by ties which can never be dissolved. I ventured to make him aware of my situation and objects in life, and he received the communication with a condescension which I shall never forget. Of the objects I then stated it is needless to say more than that they are abandoned, because I can see no reasonable hope of their accomplishment, unless I were to commence a

new career, and to modify, if I were not to renounce, my principles—and for that I am too old or too stubborn.

"I shall (if the conduct of Scindiah permits) go upon my present mission with ardor; and if I succeed in restoring order and tranquillity, I shall close my political labors in India with the proud reflection of having done justice to that favor by which I had been elevated and distinguished. Should hostilities recommence, my ardent wish is to be allowed to attend Lord Lake's career of victory, which I am persuaded will early end in negotiation for peace, that will be made under impressions which must secure us from all fear of future aggression. I should wish to have my conduct directed by Lord Wellesley even after he leaves India; and I hope that if there is a mode in which I can be useful, that he will rest confident I have not a plan on earth that can interfere with my duty to him, and that I shall be alike impelled by every private and public feeling to devote my future life to his service. I make this declaration with every sense of my own deficiencies, but I shall hope to be employed when the place of ability can be supplied by zeal and devotion."

The strong feeling of personal attachment to Lord Wellesley which Malcolm had so long cherished was now to be subjected to a sore trial. A letter arrived from Colonel Shawe, expressing a hope on the part of the retiring Governor-General that Malcolm would accompany him to England. This expression filled his mind with painful uncertainty. He had told young Metcalfe a little while before that he could in no way prove his attachment to Lord Wellesley so well as by remaining at his post, to assist in carrying out his Lordship's policy. And now, it appeared to him, in his own case, that to accompany the departing statesman to England, at a time when that policy was threatened with a total subversion, would be to render but scant service to his old master. So, after much consideration, he wrote the following letter. It is hard to say what it cost him to write it:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO COLONEL SHAWE.

Muttra, July 12, 1805.

MY DEAR SHAWE,—I have been made very anxious by your expression of Lord Wellesley's desire that I should accompany him to England, and this anxiety has been increased by observing in a late letter from Armstrong to Cole, that it was still thought likely I should be one of your party.

There is no command or desire of Lord Wellesley's with which I will not readily comply; but after stating this as a principle on which I shall always act, I must think myself at liberty to offer some considerations that you will, I feel assured, deem worthy of attention.

Without arrogating to myself any superior merit, I believe that I am, from local knowledge and experience, more likely to succeed in the conduct of negotiations with Dowlut Rao Scindiah than any other person now on the spot, or who can be conveniently sent at this moment to his Court. Though I am of opinion that we shall be forced to commence operations against Dowlut Rao, I am satisfied an early peace will be the result of these operations, and that peace it would probably fall to my lot to negotiate—or at least to aid in the negotiation of—and its early and happy conclusion would secure the complete accomplishment of all Lord Wellesley's plans, and the firm establishment of all the principles of his administration. With a view to this event, and the particular causes which would enable me to aid in promoting it, I certainly must think that by remaining here I should more effectually contribute to the success of Lord Wellesley's administration, and to the establishment of the principles of his government, than I could by accompanying him to England.

Independent of an eventual negotiation with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, I believe that I am, during Mr. Mercer's absence, of some little use to Lord Lake, and that my departure before Mercer's return might be attended with some inconvenience. The magnitude of his Lordship's present duties gives importance to any aid, however trifling, that is afforded in their performance; and the uncommon kindness and condescension with which he has treated me since I joined his camp, make me feel uneasy at the

idea of leaving him at such a period; and with this is mixed in no small degree the feelings of a soldier, which make me reluctant to quit camp when hostilities would seem almost inevitable.

To all these considerations let me add the state of my own affairs, which after all is in some degree connected with the service I may be able in the course of my life to render Lord Wellesley. I enclose a memorandum which will give you as much knowledge of my concerns as I have myself. From it you will observe that if I go home just now, I shall not be able to reckon on 800*l.* per annum —whereas another year, or rather eighteen months, will give me nearly double that income. Should I accompany Lord Wellesley to England, I must of course return instantly to India, and such a prospect would not be pleasant at the period of life to which I am advanced, for though not old, I am at an age when it is wise to think of settling.*

I make you master of all these points that you may be able to say what is necessary on this distressing occasion; but recollect that I will make any sacrifice rather than that Lord Wellesley should think I fail in what I owe to him.

You seem to conceive at Calcutta that I think Lord Cornwallis will not act on Lord Wellesley's principles: I believe most sincerely that he will. But I believe, at the same time, that he will by so doing incur attack, and that he is liable to have the support of Ministers withdrawn from the same causes as made them desert Lord Wellesley; and that in this mode the empire will be lost if the system of government is not corrected.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.†

To Lord Wellesley himself Malcolm wrote soon afterwards (August 6), saying:

"Though I know your Lordship's generosity has fully pardoned every pain or anxiety which my conduct has ever caused,

* He was then just thirty-six.

† In another letter, written a few weeks afterwards to Colonel Shawe, Malcolm says: "It is to me a subject of very serious regret that neither the state of my private finances nor the immediate calls of public duty will permit of my forming one of your party to England; but I shall soon follow, and you will find me unchanged and alike devoted to a patron to whom I shall owe whatever portion I shall enjoy of private fortune or public reputation."

I cannot help at this moment of temporary separation reproaching myself with some parts of it that have, I fear, given your Lordship much uneasiness; but that partiality and indulgence which has raised me to the proud rank in life I now hold, will, I am sure, banish everything from your memory but the remembrance of my zeal, gratitude, and unalterable attachment.

"Colonel Shawe communicated to me your Lordship's wish that I should, if possible, accompany you to England; and no circumstance in life would have made me so happy, but the peculiar situation of my private finances and the urgent nature of my present public duties, made it difficult to arrange for so early a departure from India. I wrote most earnestly to the Colonel on the subject, that he might satisfy your Lordship that no slight causes could induce me to decline a proposition so flattering to my feelings and so perfectly accordant with my views in life. I hope the reasons I have stated will prove satisfactory to your Lordship.

"From the long conversations I had with your Lordship previous to my leaving Calcutta, you must have perceived that I am not insensible to the voice of ambition. To your Lordship, whose encouraging condescension has ever accustomed me to speak in the language of confidential friendship, I did not hesitate to own that the proudest object of my life was to obtain a mark of honor from my Sovereign, as the declared reward of public services (on other terms I could not value it), and my exertions during my public employment will continue to be prompted by the same hopes of honorable distinction. If I succeed, I shall be gratified; but if I fail, I shall not be disappointed. Nor do I think the want of success will diminish one iota my future comfort, happiness, or respectability.

"Your Lordship is fully aware of my desire to return to Persia; and the information which you must lately have received of affairs in that quarter, will have enabled you to judge of the necessity of such a mission. I should, if sent with a letter or credentials from the Throne, undertake it with the sanguine hope of rendering important services to my country."

A cloud of painful doubt and perplexity was now beginning to gather over Malcolm, and it was hard, with

all his steadfast integrity, to keep himself straight upon the path of duty. I shall speak as briefly as possible of the circumstances out of which his embarrassments arose. On the 30th of July, 1805, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta, with his commission as Governor-General of India. Lord Wellesley was then at the Presidency, preparing to embark for England. Sir George Barlow was senior member of Council. In his official capacity he was, therefore, an important component both of the old and the new administration. But he was much more than this. He was a fellow-councillor in whose judgment and integrity Lord Wellesley reposed unstinted confidence; and he was the cherished friend and correspondent of Lord Cornwallis. He was thoroughly acquainted with the policy of the former; and he undertook to be its exponent for the guidance of his old master. What he then wrote was approved and endorsed by Lord Wellesley; and he always maintained that had that statesman remained in India, the measures enforced by him would have closely resembled those which were subsequently adopted.

Malcolm had already, as I have said, begun to see that Lord Wellesley was wavering; and, in reply to a half-serious, half-jocular rebuke, in a letter from Government House, had written to Colonel Shawe, "Believe me, I am not hot for war—but mad for peace—which I thought (perhaps erroneously) would be speedily attained by our showing these gentlemen we were not to be trifled with." "I hope," he added, "I have not already said too much upon this point. Rest assured I shall say no more. Throughout the whole of the question, I have never ceased to consider Lord Wellesley's situation. It is a cruel one. But, with as warm and as fixed an attachment to that nobleman as any man living can boast, I must continue to address myself to his judg-

ment, not his feelings; and must prefer the advancement of his permanent fame and glory, which is inseparable from the advancement of the interests and reputation of this country, to the temporary object of conciliating a faction, or of averting any attack which baseness, ignorance, or ingratitude may make."

If there was little chance at that time of Lord Wellesley proceeding with the vigor which Malcolm believed to be necessary to the establishment of a lasting peace, what hope was there of his successor, who had come out pledged to support the retrograde policy of the Home Government, adopting measures in consonance with the views glanced at in the above passage? But Malcolm was not so elated by the deference which had heretofore been shown to his opinions, or the recollection of the influence which they had had in shaping the great events of the last few years, as to forget that, however influential, he was only a ministerial officer, and that no mere difference of opinion could justify him in withdrawing his services from the State so long as he believed they would promote the national interests. He prepared himself, therefore, to give his support to the new administration as far as he could do so consistently with the approval of his own conscience.

His first intercourse with the new Governor-General was of a pleasing and encouraging kind. At the end of June, Malcolm had written a long letter to Lord Wellesley, containing a sketch of certain measures which he proposed for the settlement of the conquered provinces of Hindostan. This letter Lord Wellesley, after expressing his approbation of the scheme, placed in the hands of his successor; and Lord Cornwallis, on the 14th of August, wrote a private and confidential letter to Malcolm, thanking him for his suggestions, and thus briefly unfolding his own policy:

"Knowing as I do," wrote the new Governor-General, "the confidential footing on which you acted with Lord Wellesley, for whose talents nobody entertains a higher respect than myself, I wish to give you some outline of my political thoughts, which, on mature reflection, I conceive to be the most consonant to the British interests, as well in Europe as in India. I think that no success could indemnify us for continuing this ruinous war one moment longer than the first occasion that may present itself for our getting out of it without dishonor; and there is no acquisition which we can obtain by it that would not be productive of the greatest inconvenience to us. We are apparently now waging war against two chieftains who have neither territory nor army to lose. Our prospects, surely, of advantage or losses are not equally balanced. Our treasury is now completely emptied; we can send home no investment; and I am reduced to the necessity of taking the very disagreeable step of stopping the treasure destined by the Court of Directors for China, in order to have a chance of being able to get rid of a part of our irregular forces. I consider our possession of the person of Shah Allum and the town of Delhi as events truly unfortunate, and unless I should be able to persuade his Majesty to move further to the eastward, we can only secure him from the danger of being carried off by the maintenance of a large army in the field, which will be an expense that our funds cannot bear. I deprecate the effects of the almost universal frenzy which has seized even some of the heads (which I thought the soundest in the country) for conquest and victory, as opposite to the interests as it is to the laws of our country. I need only add, that I shall come to the army with a determination not to submit to insult or aggression, but with an anxious desire to have an opportunity of showing my generosity."

To this Malcolm immediately replied:

"I feel infinitely obliged by your Lordship's condescending to explain to me the principles upon which it is your intention to carry on your administration; and I hope your Lordship will rest fully satisfied that the same sense of duty which has invariably led me to give my opinions, when they were required, with freedom and honesty, has also taught me to submit on every

occasion with the most implicit respect and deference to the better judgment of my superiors; and I feel confident in assuring your Lordship that, however inferior I may be found to others in knowledge and ability, I shall be surpassed by none in zeal and obedience, and that it will add greatly to the happiness of my life if my exertions in the public service should ever be judged to merit the high distinction of your Lordship's notice and approbation."—[*September* 1, 1805.]

Lord Cornwallis had from the first expressed a doubt whether Malcolm would cordially co-operate with him.* The receipt, therefore, of this letter, which reached him as he ascended the river, must have delighted as much as it surprised him. The reader skilled in Mahratta politics, and clearly perceiving the drift of Lord Cornwallis's pregnant sentences, will be equally surprised. What the new Governor-General hinted at was nothing more than a complete abandonment of the position in Upper India which we had gained by the victories of Lake and Wellesley. But Malcolm could not bring himself to believe that such a sweeping measure of subversion would ever be carried into effect. He was confident that with an enlarged knowledge of the state of affairs in Hindostan would come also to the new Governor-General a conviction of the inexpediency of such a line of conduct. In this assurance, Malcolm wrote, on the 15th of September, to Lord Wellesley, who was then upon the high seas:

"The situation in which I am placed is full of difficulties and embarrassments, but I am satisfied I shall best discharge my duty

* *Mr. Edmonstone to Mr. Lumsden; September* 20, 1801. "At a very early period Lord Cornwallis expressed a doubt whether Malcolm would cordially act upon political principles entirely different from those which he himself entertained, and asked my opinion on the subject. I stated my conviction that he would zealously assist in the accomplishment of whatever measures his Lordship might think proper to prescribe. His Lordship wrote a private letter to Malcolm explaining the great outline of his policy," &c., &c.—[*MS. Correspondence.*]

to your Lordship, and to the public, by maintaining my post as long as I can with honor to myself and advantage to my country. It would seem impossible that Lord Cornwallis can persist in a course in which every opinion that can merit weight is against him, though that very circumstance, in his present infirm state of health, appears to irritate his temper, and makes it almost impossible to enter into any discussion.

"Had your Lordship continued in India until December, I cannot doubt but that you would have dictated a peace that would have secured the permanent tranquillity of India; but I tremble at what may be the result of the present system. Our moderation will be everywhere termed fear, and our generosity weakness. These qualities, which are properly displayed in the proud hour of victory, or when our power is completely acknowledged, will never be understood when accompanied by expressions of solicitude for peace, and by actions that indicate an inability to carry on war. We shall have pretensions brought forward that were obsolete; and a compliance with these, though it may purchase a short and delusive truce, will be the certain forerunner of a long and ruinous war.

"Our situation is at present truly alarming. Holkar is at Ajmere, and prepared to enter our provinces. Scindiah (if Lord Cornwallis does not immediately comply with his demands for the restoration of Gohud and Gwalior) will, perhaps, not assist Holkar openly, but try to preserve a secret understanding with him, and remain neutral till he sees how affairs turn. This line will be a great advantage to the confederates, if we permit them to pursue it, as Scindiah is everywhere tangible—Holkar nowhere."

But although for a while Malcolm suffered himself to believe that Lord Cornwallis would not persevere in the course of policy which he had mapped out at the commencement of his reign, this sustaining faith soon received its death-blow at the hands of the Political Secretary. Mr. Edmonstone, who accompanied Lord Cornwallis on his voyage up the Ganges, wrote frequently and confidentially to Malcolm, with a full recital of his master's

views. From these letters it was soon apparent that the Governor-General was resolutely bent on abandoning all the territory to the westward of the Jumna acquired by the late war. Even the lands assigned for the support of the King and royal family of Delhi were to be restored to the Mahrattas. "His Lordship," wrote Mr. Edmonstone, "has declared it to be the primary object of his views to remove the impressions at present universally entertained of a systematic design on the part of the British Government to establish its control over every power in India. His Lordship would contemplate with satisfaction any arrangement calculated to restore to a condition of vigor, efficiency, and independent interest the Governments, which had in fact been subverted by the success of our arms, or by the progressive ascendancy of our influence." And then, after entering into details regarding the course to be pursued towards Scindiah, the Secretary proceeded to say: "His Lordship has no doubt of your concurrence in the general principles of his Lordship's policy, described in his letter to your address, and in other documents transmitted to you, as being exclusively conformable to the provisions of the Legislature and to the dictates of that system of government which is necessary to render the territorial possessions of the Company a source of strength and profit, instead of (what they are at this moment) a burden to the mother country, a constant drain to her treasure and her troops, and a vulnerable point of attack to our enemies; and, although your opinion may differ with regard to the mode of accomplishing the objects of that policy, his Lordship is satisfied of the zealous exertion of your abilities and talents in the prosecution of those measures which, in his Lordship's judgment, are most conducive to the public interests."

This was written at the end of August. The month

of September saw Lord Cornwallis still journeying up the river, in feeble bodily health, and with powers of mind somewhat weakened, perhaps, by suffering; but not to the extent which the opponents of his policy believed and declared. At all events, he saw clearly the course before him, and he consistently adhered to it. Edmonstone, therefore, still wrote that the Governor-General was bent upon abandoning both our alliances and our territory to the westward of the Jumna. "You are apprised," he said, "that his Lordship is anxious to get rid of our alliances with the states on the west of the Jumna. He is more particularly so to get rid of the territory now in our possession to the westward and southward of Delhi. He wishes that that territory should be so disposed of as to relieve us from all concern or connexion with it." Gwalior and Gohud were to be restored to Scindiah. Our alliance with the Rajah of Jyneghur was to be dissolved. The territory to the westward of the Jumna was to be given to Scindiah, or some one else—perhaps to the Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Macherry. Having stated all this, clearly and fully, Edmonstone concluded his letter with these ominous words:

"After having written the foregoing, I read it to Lord Cornwallis, who expressed his entire approbation of the whole, observing that it explained distinctly the general plan of settlement which he wished to effect, and his Lordship desired me to add that he was aware how different was his system of policy from that by which Lord Lake's and your opinions had been regulated; but that it must be obvious to you, that it was not possible for him to act according to any other: that he found people at home in the utmost degree of alarm at the vast extension of our dominions, and the ruinous consequences that appeared to be the result of it: that a system of forbearance and moderation was known to be that which had uniformly regulated his Lordship's former administration: that the authorities at home, impressed with the absolute necessity of a change of system, had represented to him

that no other person could accomplish that change with so much advantage and so little hazard as himself, in whom it would appear to be merely the operation of the same principles of policy which had regulated his former administration, and had secured the confidence of surrounding states: that nothing but the earnestness of this solicitation, and a sense of what he owed to the Company and the nation, could have induced his Lordship, at his advanced period of life, to undertake so arduous a charge as that which they desired to impose upon him: that it must be evident to you, from these circumstances, that he was pledged to the Government at home to follow this line of policy, and was not even at liberty to pursue any other. His Lordship further directed me to add, that he was sensible your political sentiments had necessarily been regulated by the general principles of policy pursued by that authority to which you owed obedience; that this, however, could not in the least degree preclude his Lordship from reposing the utmost confidence in your zealous exertions, under the authority of Lord Lake, to promote those objects which he (Lord Cornwallis) deemed essential to the public interests; that his Lordship entertained the highest sense of your honor, public spirit, and ability; and that he was completely satisfied, that in the situation in which you were called upon to act, you would promote his system of policy with the same honorable zeal which had distinguished your conduct under the late administration."

To Malcolm all this was painful and perplexing in the extreme. Before him was a divided duty. Within were divided inclinations. He was unwilling to abandon his post as long as he could render any service to the State. He was unwilling to vex, by any such desertion, the last days of the dying statesman, whose virtues he so revered. But how could he become the agent of a scheme of policy which he believed to be fatal to our national interests? How could he suffer his hand to demolish the structure to the erection of which Lord Wellesley had devoted the best years and the best energies of his life? The restoration of Gwalior and Gohud to

Scindiah, for which Malcolm had before so earnestly contended, he believed to be justifiable and expedient. Indeed, Lord Wellesley, before he laid down the reins of Government, had come to the conclusion that the attempted resuscitation of the Gohud principality had been a failure; and he was prepared, had he remained in office, to restore it to Scindiah.* The Rana had failed in the engagements which he had contracted with us; and was ruining his country as fast as he could. But this was very different from the wholesale cessions and abandonments of territories and alliances which Lord Cornwallis was now prepared to authorise; and Malcolm, after much painful consideration, came to the conclusion that he could not conscientiously become the agent of such a scheme of policy. The letters which he then wrote to Mr. Edmonstone set forth so clearly and emphatically both his views of the public measures which in that conjuncture it behoved the Government to adopt, and the considerations in accordance with which it seemed right to him to shape his individual conduct, that it would be an injustice to him to withhold them:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE.

(*Most secret.*)

[This is a very hurried letter, but it contains the sentiments of my mind, given after much reflection.]

Muttra, Sept. 19, 1805.

My dear Edmonstone,—I may not be fully informed of all the minute details of your financial difficulties, but I am satisfied I have a correct general idea of the subject, and from that I am convinced that every arrangement that does not establish our political interests upon a firm and commanding ground, will only afford a delusive and temporary relief; while the establishment of our political interests upon a secure and permanent basis will be

* *MS. Memorandum of Sir George Barlow.*

immediately attended with effects calculated not only to relieve our present difficulties, but to place us in possession of resources that will enable India to aid, instead of being a burden upon, the mother country. Of this fact I am as convinced as I am of my existence, and viewing affairs in this light, I should, if I possessed power, not hesitate a moment in employing every means within my grasp to the accomplishment of such an object. I should borrow two, three, or four crores, if necessary, and stop every species of investment, in the full confidence that I was promoting the interest of my country; and I should console myself for the abuse and calumny of the moment, to which I might be exposed, by the reflection that I had done my duty, and that the merit of my conduct would be hereafter appreciated, and that my measures would be approved by all capable of distinguishing between a narrow and unwise system of policy that was governed by considerations of the moment, and which employed expedients to effect every object that these considerations rendered desirable, from one which was founded on immutable principles, which proceeded to its end through difficulty and danger, and which admitted no objects but what were suitable to its character, and rejected every measure that was not calculated to promote the great design of establishing that complete state of security on which alone just hopes of great and permanent prosperity can be founded. I should be prepared to adapt myself as much to circumstances as I could, without departing from the track which I had prescribed; but I would certainly never abandon real power in the speculative hope of gaining more strength by the favorable impression which my moderation or generosity might make upon the native powers. From every experience I have had of these powers, I must declare my perfect conviction, that only two considerations occur to their minds when considering the policy they should pursue towards the British Government: the first, their own means; the second, those of the British nation; and in proportion as the latter are thought small or great, so is the chance of peace or war. I have before said I would adapt myself to circumstances as far as I could consistently with the preservation of the principles and character of the Government; and I shall on this ground answer, in a short manner, your letter of the 10th instant. I wrote you respecting Gohud. Your ideas and mine nearly agree upon that point; perhaps the idea of getting rid of

the fifteen lakhs is better than mine, but its accomplishment would be more difficult. Dholpore, Rajahkerra, and Barree, from being north of the Chumbul, and lying in with the province of Agra, would be desirable. I would not wish the Mahrattas to have any demands on this side the Chumbul.* With this view, I would make an arrangement to give Tonk Rampoora to the Rajah of Jyepore, and fix that the Mahrattas were to collect no tribute on this side that river. This would be easily effected, as Scindiah has only claims to that of the Rajah of Boondee, which is about a lakh, and the uniform and active friendship with which that chief has behaved to the British Government will merit that they should interest themselves in his favor. A public despatch will be ready in three days, which will show you how strong our boundary is, as our possessions and engagements now stand, and how preferable to that fanciful one of the Jumna, which literally cannot above Agra be termed a boundary for more than three weeks in the year, it being only that time unfordable during the dry season, and during the rains every millah is as great an impediment as the Jumna to an invading army. I believe Delhi and Muttra to be military positions that much more effectually protect the Doab and all our provinces in this quarter of India than our former ones of Furruckabad and Cawnpore. I believe Scindiah now despairs of ever again getting possession of Hindostan. I believe that if ever we again gave him a footing in that quarter, that his whole policy would be directed to regain his possessions in the Doab, and if that was obtained, to attack Behar and Bengal. Such, rest assured, would be the inevitable consequence of this system of encouragement. But let us examine how far we could pursue it with any attention to our character. Including Rajahs, Jageerdars, and all others, the British faith is, perhaps, pledged to upwards of a hundred persons on the west of the Jumna, and having assumed the rule of this country, under the articles of the treaty of peace, we have, in fact, given a pledge of general protection to all its inhabitants; and many of those, from a confidence in the character of the British Government, have given us active support, to which it appears in contemplation to give them over. Believe me, my

* "This is not with a view of having the Chumbul as a boundary of any strength, but as a distinct line of demarcation."—J. M.

dear friend, no energy, no ability, could save us from the baneful consequences which must result from such a measure. A general impression of our weakness would be received, our future pledges of faith would be distrusted, and our promises of protection would be disregarded. I believe it is not difficult to advance. I am satisfied it is easy to maintain our ground, and convinced, beyond all doubt, that to retreat will be ultimately attended with disgrace and ruin.

I have no secrets with you, and have expressed my sentiments with warmth and with perfect unreserve. I cannot desire they should ever be made known to Lord Cornwallis (though I fear that nobleman will be no more before they reach you), because I believe they are in opposition to those which he entertains, and my respect would, of course, prevent me from expressing myself in such language, or indeed coming forward at all with opinions so contrary to those publicly declared by him in whose hands the administration was placed. I had, however, sanguine hopes that if Lord Cornwallis had lived to view the whole of this scene in person, and to have formed a judgment of everything on the spot, that he would have altered many of his opinions, and have become satisfied that the great change which had taken place since he was last in India required a different system from that which he pursued with such success, and that in our present state of power the abstaining from all interference with the native powers would have been attended with much more danger and embarrassment than ever could have resulted from the most active employment of that influence which our military and political success has established. I am glad you forward all my letters to Sir G. Barlow, with whom I can have no reserve whatever. I am flattered highly by the confidence you say is reposed in me by Lord Cornwallis, and I shall have the highest joy in being the agent to conclude a peace with Scindiah of a nature calculated to support former proceedings and the British character; but if in an unpropitious hour it is ever meant to give up Delhi and our possessions to the west of the Jumna, I trust to your exertions to save me from the misery of being an unwilling instrument in the accomplishment of a measure which (whether right or wrong in my opinion) I most conscientiously believe will be equally disgraceful and ruinous. No man, let his experience and knowledge be ever so

great, is fit to be employed when every sentiment of his mind is in opposition to the measures he is directed to execute. Save me from this situation, if ever such a resolution is taken, and rest assured, on such a case occurring, any agent would succeed. Every proposition would be received with delight, our generosity would be extolled to the skies, promises of eternal friendship would be made, which would, perhaps, be kept for a period of twelve months; but of this last conclusion I am doubtful.

Believe me ever, &c., &c.,

JOHN MALCOLM.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Muttra, Oct. 6, 1805.

MY DEAR EDMONSTONE,—. . . . I certainly never imagined, from Lord Cornwallis's private letter to me of the 14th, that he was then resolved upon what he afterwards declared to be his intention. I believed and saw that upon general principles he was going to differ widely from Lord Wellesley. I thought the subsidiary alliance with Scindiah might be done away, that our connexion with all the states might be less intimate, and that he might be ready to throw off any of our petty allies that behaved ill. He no doubt expressed a wish in that letter to abandon all protection of the different chiefs we might settle; but this appeared to me merely a sentiment stated for discussion, and on that belief I ventured to suggest the difficulty with which I thought it would be attended. I never dreamt that Lord Cornwallis would come to any ultimate resolution upon these points till he had every possible information before him, and, indeed, until he could decide, upon the spot, both upon the policy and practicability of his schemes of alteration; and under this impression I labored that he might have the fullest information upon every subject. When affairs were in this state, I felt what I expressed, a zeal to carry Lord Cornwallis's orders into execution; and though there were many speculative points on which I differed from him, I felt that I had no right to place myself (an inferior agent) in opposition about such points to the person who had all the power and all the responsibility; and that even to endeavour to withdraw at such a period, when circumstances had happened that made it likely my exertions would be more successful than those of any other agent

on the spot in restoring peace with Scindiah, who marked me by personal confidence, would be a dereliction of all public duty. But the whole case altered when I perceived from your confidential letter that Lord Cornwallis was resolved to abandon all connexions with the Rajahs and chiefs west of the Jumna, and contemplated the restoration of Delhi and other possessions of Dowlut Rao Scindiah in Hindostan—which measures, I believed, would be disgraceful and ruinous. And I was, under this impression, solicitous to be relieved through the means of private and friendly intercession (for no thought of opposition could, in the subordinate rank I was placed in, ever enter into my mind) from being the instrument of concluding such an arrangement; and this I wished on the grounds I expressed, in perfect conviction that no man should be employed every sentiment of whose mind was contrary to the proceeding he was entrusted to execute.

Your station and mine are, my dear friend, widely different. As an officer of Government acting immediately under the Governor-General, you have, in fact, only to obey orders, and are never left to the exercise of your own discretion and judgment, as you have a ready reference in all cases that can occur to the superior authority, with whom, of course, every responsibility rests. Under such circumstances, a secretary that chooses to be of a different opinion—that is to say, *to maintain* different opinions—from a Governor-General has, in my opinion, no option but to resign; and his resignation would, on such occasion, appear extraordinary to every person acquainted with the nature of his office, which is obviously one of an executive, not of a deliberative nature. Now look at my situation. Placed at a great distance from the Governor-General, and acting upon instructions of a general nature—obliged constantly to determine points upon my own judgment, as there is no time for reference—liable to be called upon by extraordinary exigencies to act in a most decided manner to save the public interests from injury, it is indispensable that the sentiments of my mind should be in some unison with the dictates of my duty, and if they unfortunately are contrary to it, I am not fit to be employed, for I have seen enough of these scenes to be satisfied that a mere principle of obedience will never carry a man through a charge where such large discretionary powers must be given, with either honor to himself or advantage to the public.

I rejoice that you approve of the full expression of my sentiments; and you will, I am satisfied, accord in the distinction which I have made between our respective situations, in which, I trust, we have both acted, on this trying and difficult occasion, as became men who combine just principles of private honor with proper considerations of public duty.

I am ready to move to Scindiah whenever ordered. It has been held out to that chief by Kavel Nyn that his acceptance of the engagement that was sent him as the basis of a general settlement would be the signal of my march to his camp. This is likely to be an inducement; and that chief will not come sooner into our views from any appearance of solicitude on our part. His resolution and those of all others will be chiefly governed by the fate of Holkar, and that will be settled satisfactorily in a very short period. He is gone to the Sikhs, and our operations for both offensive and defensive measures are in a very forward state.

Yours ever,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Whilst Malcolm was writing this letter, all that remained of one of the best and noblest of men who ever gave his life to his country was being deposited in an unconsecrated grave on the banks of the Ganges. On the 5th of October, 1805, Lord Cornwallis sunk to rest at Ghazeepore. The charge of the Government then devolved upon Sir George Barlow, who, throughout the entire period embraced by the Mahratta war, had taken part in the councils of the State, and recently in no small measure directed them.* The death of the venerable Governor-General, expected though it was, touched Malcolm to the heart; and it is hard to say how much it gratified him to learn that on his dying bed the aged

* The last year of Lord Wellesley's administration had seen him in declining health, and with somewhat exhausted energies; and the council-notes of that period more frequently contain the words, "I concur with Sir George Barlow—W.," than "I concur with Lord Wellesley—G. H. B." Some of the Political Secretary's most important despatches were based upon Sir George Barlow's minutes.

Marquis had declared himself well pleased with his zealous exertions to obtain money for the army, and the judicious measures he had adopted to restore Scindiah to reason and moderation. But he could not help seeing in this melancholy event new hope for our national interests. He believed that the fellow-workman of Lord Wellesley would not stultify the councils, out of which had arisen the existing state of things in Hindostan: so he at once placed his services at the disposal of Sir George Barlow:*

"You are," he wrote on the 10th of October, "I am satisfied, too well convinced of my devotion to the public service, to think for a moment I could wish to evade any duties I was called upon to perform, and particularly at a crisis when casual circumstances appeared to give a consequence to my personal exertions; nothing, indeed, could have ever induced me to express a wish to be eventually relieved from the mission to Scindiah but a conviction that (under the adoption of the measures specified in Mr. Edmonstone's letter) I would be an unfit agent, as every sentiment of my mind would be at variance with the dictates of my duty. . . . You will be, before you receive this, in possession of every document that can aid your judgment in the decision of the many important questions which remain to be settled; and I am satisfied your wisdom will decide in a manner that will ensure the complete establishment of order and tranquillity. I am assured you will remain fully satisfied of my attachment, and of my constant readiness to contribute, as far as my abilities and opportunities will permit, to the success of your administration. I never can forget the uniform kindness and confidence with which you have honored me, and I shall be prepared to act in whatever situation you may

* "You have been witness," he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, "to a most extraordinary and impressive scene, the close of the life of a great and good man, who has continued to the last to devote himself to his country. Few have lived with such honor. No one ever died with more glory. I cannot tell you the satisfaction your despatch of the 9th instant has afforded me; and I feel gratified in thinking that Lord Cornwallis was fully satisfied of my zeal, and that our proceedings here have met with his approbation."

judge my services to be required. Considerations connected with the state of my health would make me wish not to remain long with Scindiah, and, should I proceed to the Court of that chief, I hope you will appoint some person to relieve me at as early a period as may be practicable, or as you may judge consistent with the public interest.

". . . . . I am at a loss to conjecture the intentions of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, but I consider his present effort against the English Government as in every way despicable, and I have no doubt the operations which are now in progress will ensure his complete discomfiture. We have now sufficient cash to move, and every measure will, I trust, be taken to expedite the arrival of the treasure on its way to Furruckabad. The chief object of immediate consideration is the relief of the finances from the burden of the Irregulars; and every reflection upon that subject satisfies me that no plan will answer so well as that of granting them jaghirs in our own more civilised districts."*

Whilst this correspondence relating to the future was being carried on, Malcolm was turning the present time to the best possible advantage. There was much, at all events, to be done, the expediency, nay, the necessity of which admitted of no dispute. The head-quarters of the army were then, as I have said, at Muttra. With Lord Lake Malcolm was on terms of the utmost confidence and cordiality. In this veteran commander he found a man very different from the great soldier-statesman with whom he had been associated in the Deccan, but one, nevertheless, in whom there was much to admire and respect. He was not at all a statesman. He was a soldier of the old school, with many of the prejudices of his class—plain-spoken, straightforward, and thoroughly

* In another letter to Sir G. Barlow, written on the 18th of October, Malcolm says: "My letter to Mr. Edmonstone of the 6th instant will have informed you of the extreme case I apprehended when I solicited to be *eventually* relieved. Under any other circumstances than those to which I alluded (viz., *the complete reintroduction of Scindiah's power into Hindostan*), I never could have taken a step which I was aware might be attended with inconvenience, if not embarrassment, to the public service."

a man of honor. He had no small contempt for civilians and penmen. "D—n your writing—mind your fighting," was the exhortation which he blurted out in the rude language of the Camp. He was a disciplinarian, and somewhat of a formalist. It mattered not at what time of the morning the army commenced its march, there was Lord Lake in full uniform, buttoned to the chin, powdered, and peruqued.* But there was a warm heart, and perhaps a quick temper, beneath the rigid exterior; and no man was more beloved by all ranks of the army. There are veteran soldiers yet who speak with affectionate veneration of Lake Sahib, and who have handed down to their sons and grandsons the traditions of the first English general who led an army to the banks of the Jumna and the Sutlej.

Commanders of armies are not commonly very tolerant of the interference or even of the presence of diplomatists. A man of different stamp and character in Malcolm's position might have given offence to Lord Lake. But in his new associate the old General found both a useful assistant and a pleasant companion. Their sentiments were not at variance. Both were of opinion that the wholesale abandonment of all that we had gained by the last war would be discreditable to the British name and ruinous to the national interests.

* Some years afterwards (1812), passing through Lincolnshire, these habits were recalled to Malcolm's memory in the course of a conversation with Lord Yarborough. "Lord Y.," he wrote to his wife, "hearing I had been in India, asked me about Lord Lake, with whom, he said, he had hunted forty years ago! I mentioned to him the habit which Lord Lake maintained in the field, of dressing himself when he marched, at *two* in the morning, as if he were going to Court, and added, Lord Lake had told me he had acquired the custom when he hunted in Lincolnshire, it being a common expression among the bucks of the day, 'that if they did break their necks, they would leave a genteel corpse!' 'I perfectly recollect the expression,' replied the old Lord; 'and to prove I do, will relate an anecdote to the purpose. The old huntsman of the pack came up one day to Lord G——, to whom it belonged, and exclaimed in a passion, "No wonder, my Lord, the pack has behaved ill. These fine young gentlemen have their handkerchiefs so scented with one stuff or another that they have spoiled my dogs' noses!"'"

Both were of opinion that the further chastisement of Holkar, whose insolent hostility was as rampant as ever, was a necessary preliminary to any settlement with that chief. They desired peace—but only an honorable and a lasting one. And they held it to be of the first importance that none of the concessions which we were about to make should appear to be wrung from us by our inability to prosecute the war.

But, in truth, something very nearly approaching such an inability actually existed. The time for active operations was close at hand, but the army could not move for want of money. The public treasury was exhausted. Our situation was one of extreme difficulty and embarrassment. We had a large body of irregular troops in our pay—troops which had been detached from the service of the native chiefs, and taken the field under our banners. But the expense of maintaining them had become so grievous that Lord Cornwallis, on his first arrival, had declared that he would rather fight them than pay them—the former being the lesser evil of the two. They could not be dismissed, because they could not be paid. Our regular army, too, was in arrears, and it was a question how long the fidelity of the Sepoys would bear up against a suspicion of our national bankruptcy. A paramount necessity, therefore, at this juncture, was by any means to obtain money; and Lord Lake was well pleased in the emergency which had arisen to have the assistance of one who thoroughly understood all the machinery of our fiscal administration, and who, moreover, was fertile in expedients, fearless of responsibility, and by no means likely, in any great national crisis, to have an undue regard for form and precedent.

So Malcolm exerted himself bravely to obtain money, and to enable the army to move in what he called "grand style." His letters written at this time to Mr.

Edmonstone afford abundant proof of his activity in this direction. "We want nothing but cash," he wrote on the 7th of September, "and that may be had. I mentioned formerly one or two modes of supply. Open the Lucknow treasury—that is, get our bills paid in ready cash there, and we shall be able, at a light premium, to negotiate bills to the amount of eight or ten lakhs of rupees per month. . . . . In a moment like the present, when money is immediately required, I confess I should have no scruples in calling on the aumils and renters for an advance. It may be against rule, but it suits the emergency." "I can give you no idea," he wrote again on the 27th of the same month, "of the distress I am in for want of cash to move. I have been with *Shroffs* all day—but my utmost endeavours will not obtain much above a lakh, and we want four or five to move even a light corps. From the enclosed extracts you will see that the enemy is in the country—at least there is reason to believe so. We expect some supplies from the collectors, but when, God knows. We shall get one lakh from the Bhurtpore man, which is due; and I wish to God he would offer prompt payment of the whole, or a large part of his remaining balance, as the price of Deig being restored immediately. Most heartily should I recommend Lord Lake to give it to him. Is it not miserable, that for the want of seven or eight lakhs of rupees we should be deprived of the means of sending Holkar to the devil, or at least preventing his bringing a man near our provinces?"

Two days later he wrote more hopefully regarding the prospects of the army: "We shall move in grand style yet. I expect the Bhurtpore man will send four lakhs, which will place us above want." Government consented to the sale of Deig, but Lake and Malcolm had anticipated the measure. "We are getting under weigh

as fast as possible," wrote the latter on the 1st of October. "We have anticipated your orders about Deig. A negotiation is on foot for its redelivery, and we expect three or four lakhs of the *kist* due a twelvemonth hence to be paid immediately." "Every person almost," he added, "is ill. I have hardly been able to hold up my head all day." On the following day he wrote again, saying, "I am still out of sorts. The bargain is concluded with the Bhurtpore man. He sends us four lakhs. We give up Deig. The remainder (of which two lakhs are forgiven) will be paid at an early date. All parties are delighted. This cash, with what the circular letter has already obtained from the collectors, will enable us to move in great style, which is of the utmost importance." Three days afterwards he reported, in great spirits, that the army was in motion. "I have just returned," he wrote, hastily, to Mr. Edmonstone. "I have brought three lakhs. Another follows to-morrow. Two battalions and two thousand Irregulars marched yesterday from Delhi. The bridge across the Jumna will be laid in five days, and we shall march up either side with the cavalry in four days. Never mind Scindiah. This is the work that will secure success to all your negotiations."

Rightly judged Malcolm, that an army ready to take the field, with a chief prepared to strike, at the head of it, was the best negotiator in the world. He had written in Lord Lake's name a stringent letter to Scindiah, demanding the immediate release of Mr. Jenkins, and threatening a declaration of war as the consequence of refusal. But what were such demands and such threats with an army in a state of absolute paralysis? We were not in a position to dictate terms, for we lacked the means to enforce them. But Malcolm well knew that, with an army ready to move in any direction, and with

the season for military operations before us, we should experience little difficulty in bringing Scindiah to a just view of his own interests. He had been for some time hanging on the skirts of fortune. Any turn of events, favorable or unfavorable to British interests, might have driven Scindiah openly into the arms of Holkar, or detached him for ever from that perilous alliance. There were several circumstances which, in this conjuncture, allured or impelled him towards the latter and the wiser course. His hopes and his fears were alike excited. The former might not have sufficed without the latter. But together, they were enough to compel him to recognise the expediency of securing the friendship of the British.

Foremost among these causes was the hope of obtaining possession of those long-coveted treasures, the fortress of Gwalior, and the territory of Gohud. This hope, as the autumn advanced, was fast growing into an assurance. Early in September, Malcolm had written: "I know not what would satisfy Scindiah—if the full assurance of friendship already given will not do it—unless the immediate cession of Gwalior and Gohud, which Scindiah assuredly expects as the price of his defection at this moment." There was no difficulty now about this cession. Times had changed, and our statesmen had changed with them, since Malcolm had been so severely rebuked for encouraging such a measure. Even Lord Wellesley, before his departure from India, had been forced upon the conclusion that it was no longer either just or expedient to support the claims of an incompetent chief, who could neither keep his engagements with us, nor do his duty to his own people.*

* "The failure of the Rana of Gohud in the performance of his engagements had determined his Lordship, had he continued at the head of the Government, to supersede the treaty concluded with him."—[*MS. Memorandum of Sir George Barlow.*]

Lord Cornwallis was willing to give anything to Scindiah—Delhi itself included. And Sir George Barlow had at his command an irresistible phalanx of arguments in support of the concession. It soon became apparent, therefore, that the long-abiding desire of Scindiah to obtain possession of Gwalior and Gohud would be gratified at last. Ghautka had been dismissed; and Moonshee Kavel Nyn,* who, since the elevation of that infamous minister, had lived in retirement in the Company's provinces, was now invited to become the medium of communication between the British Government and Scindiah's Court. This was another circumstance which helped to restore the amicable relations between the two States. But nothing, perhaps, tended so much to reduce the presumption of Scindiah as the menacing attitude which Malcolm's exertions had now enabled us to assume.

"You will learn from my public despatch of this date," wrote Malcolm to Edmonstone, on the 18th of October, "that Mr. Jenkins is at last to be released. This is a happy event, and I hope nothing will obstruct its accomplishment. It clears every question of difficulty; and puts it in our power to do as we judge proper." A few days afterwards he reported that Jenkins was actually on his way to the British camp. The time seemed now to have arrived for Malcolm to make his way to Scindiah's Court. But he was still needed at the side of the Commander-in-Chief. On the 8th of November he wrote from Delhi to Sir George Barlow:

"Lord Lake arrived here yesterday; and has marched again this morning. I have remained behind for a moment, to arrange

* Moonshee Kavel Nyn had negotiated, in conjunction with Wattel Punt, the treaty of Surjee-Anjengaum. See *ante*, Chapter IX.

respecting the settlement of the principal Hindostanee chiefs with the Resident of Delhi; and this work will, I trust, in a very few days, be completely settled. Lord Lake has felt great embarrassment respecting me. In attention to your commands, he wished to send me to Scindiah as soon as possible. On the other hand, he expects every day to be honored with your instructions respecting that chief, and my separation previous to their receipt might cause inconvenience, particularly as the communication may become uncertain. In Lord Lake's opinion, the contest with Holkar will be brought to issue immediately. That chief appears to have no option but that of meeting one of the divisions of the British army, or of flying; and his doing either will enable his Lordship to make arrangements which will greatly reduce the expenditure. . . . . Lord Lake desires me to state the great inconvenience which he would be subject to, at a moment like the present, from having no person on whom he could rest with confidence as a medium of communication with the Native chiefs, &c., and of conducting the political correspondence in the Persian department. . . . . I have given the fullest consideration I was able to this point, and have perfectly acquiesced with his Lordship in the actual necessity of my remaining a few days longer with the army."

So Malcolm remained with the Commander-in-Chief—a measure of which the Government entirely approved; and as the army advanced, negotiated the new treaty with Moonshee Kavel Nyn, and, "minding his writing," wrote all Lord Lake's letters, both to the Governor-General and the Native chiefs.* Holkar, with a large body of horse and a train of artillery, alarmed at our advance, was flying towards the Sutlej, and endeavouring as he went to incite the Sikh chiefs to unite with him in

* About this time Malcolm met with an accident which might have been attended with very serious consequences, and which caused him for some time considerable inconvenience. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Mr. Edmonstone: "I write in pain. A horse which a gentleman was riding alongside of me seized me by the thigh, which he held for some minutes, and has crippled me for the moment." He spoke thus lightly of the accident; but it disabled him for some time, and compelled him to transact business on his couch.

a war against the English. It was of the first importance, therefore, that Lake's army should move forward with the utmost possible despatch. The fine bracing weather of the early winter cheered and invigorated all. The troops were in high spirits. They were really moving in "grand style." The thought of this gladdened Malcolm's heart. Long years of diplomacy had not made him a clerk—had not deadened the soldierly instincts within him. He had no feeling of commiseration for Holkar, and would have rejoiced exceedingly if that turbulent chief had staked everything on the issue of a great battle. It need not be said that the veteran commander was moved by the same feeling. "Though I much regret," wrote Malcolm in Lord Lake's name, "that the excessive fear of the enemy should have prevented my having any opportunity of attacking him, I anticipate all the consequences of a defeat from the precipitate flight which he has been obliged to make; and though the weakness and divided state of the Sikh chiefs in the Punjab may enable him to subsist his army for a short period by plunder (for he is destitute of every other resource) from these countries, I cannot believe that he will ever extricate his army from the difficulties in which it is now involved, and, at all events, it is impracticable for him to invade the possessions of the Company this season. I, however, deem the object of accelerating his destruction of such importance, that I shall—if I observe a disposition in Runjeet Singh to co-operate in an active manner for the accomplishment of that object—remain with a force under my personal command for a short period in this quarter. But my doing so will not for a moment impede the progress of those arrangements and reductions of expenditure which appear so necessary to relieve the finance, and which, in the present favorable

situation of affairs, can, in my opinion, be made without any risk or danger whatever."*

Indeed, whilst the army was in pursuit of Holkar, Malcolm had not only been negotiating the treaty with Scindiah, conducting Lord Lake's correspondence, and receiving from time to time the wakeels, or agents, of the Sikh chiefs on both sides of the Sutlej, but also reducing those vast irregular levies which were so burdening the finances of the State. "I trust to have the definite treaty signed to-morrow, or next day at furthest," he wrote to Sir George Barlow. "I work at that and the reductions as hard as I can. The latter will be reported on in a few days. They amount to about two lakhs per *mensem;* and if we can send Holkar out of the Punjab, or out of the world, the whole of this expense will be done away, and many others. . . . . Do not be alarmed at our advancing. The disposition of our forces keeps all secure, and every Sikh must be a friend. If we give Holkar breath he will revive. And by pushing him, we secure an early termination to the campaign, which is indispensable." Malcolm judged rightly that nothing would so surely hasten the conclusion of peace as the demonstration of our ability to continue the war.

On the 21st of November Malcolm reported that he had concluded his negotiations with the Moonshee, and that the treaty would be despatched immediately to Scindiah. "I have just finished the negotiation," he wrote to Mr. Edmonstone, "and a copy of the treaty will, I trust, go off to night to Dowlut Rao Scindiah. It will, I am quite assured, meet Sir George's approbation. I have been the negotiator, under the direction of Lord Lake, and am so stated in the treaty." The

* *Lord Lake to Sir G. Barlow*, 1805. From the original draft in *Head-quarters Camp; November* 26, Malcolm's handwriting.

treaty was Malcolm's. It was necessarily based more or less on the instructions received from the Governor-General—but the less rather predominated.* It confirmed so much of the treaty of Surjee-Anjengaum as was not neutralised by new engagements. It gave up Gwalior and Gohud to Scindiah. The Chumbul river was to be the boundary between the two States. Certain money pensions, and other advantages of a personal character granted to Scindiah under the former treaty, were to be renounced; but an annual pension of four lakhs of rupees was to be assigned to him personally, and jagheers were also to be granted to his wife and daughter. The British Government also undertook to enter into no engagements with certain tributaries of Scindiah, the Rajahs of Oudipore, Joudpoor, Kotah, and others, in Malwah and Mewar, and not to interfere with respect to Scindiah's conquests from Holkar between the Taptee and the Chumbul river. A special article also was introduced, whereby Scindiah pledged himself never again to admit Ghautka into his service or his councils.†

* The negotiation had commenced when Lord Cornwallis was still alive; and Lake and Malcolm had made known their views to Scindiah's representatives before positive instructions from the Governor-General arrived. When, therefore, a letter to Scindiah in an over-conciliatory strain, under date September 19, was received from Lord Cornwallis, Lord Lake took upon himself the responsibility of withholding it.

† Of this last clause Malcolm has remarked (in his *Political History of India*) that it was "a complete vindication of our insulted honor." To which Mr. James Mill replies, in *his* History, "Truckling to the master, you struck a blow at the servant, who in no possible shape was responsible to you; and this you were pleased to consider as a vindication of honor." It is hardly necessary to offer any comment upon this. If Mr. Mill had lived a year in India he would not have made such a remark. It might have applied to an European Government, but was certainly most inapplicable to the actual case, Scindiah having been a mere boy at the time, and the insult to the Residency a personal act of Ghautka's. Writing of this article in a private letter to Mr. Edmonstone, Malcolm says: "I hope there will be no objection to the article about Ghautka. The former proceeding justifies it. It looks like a concession to us on the face of the treaty; and it is considered indispensable by every man friendly to the English interest at Scindiah's court." Lord Wellesley had declared it to be a *sine quâ non* in any new treaty with Scindiah.

The treaty was accepted by Scindiah, and forwarded to Bengal for the confirmation of the Governor-General. In the mean while, Lake's army pushed forward with untiring energy in pursuit of Holkar's battalions. Awed by our rapid approach, the Sikh chiefs sent their agents to the British camp, and were detached, with no great difficulty, from the great "freebooter's" declining cause. It was part of Malcolm's duty to communicate with these foreign envoys. He did it with immense address. An anecdote, illustrative of the style of his diplomacy, has been told me by one of the few survivors of this memorable campaign. Malcolm was giving an audience to two or three of these agents, when a friend—the narrator of this story—rushed into his tent, and told him that there wore two large tigers in the neighbourhood. The interruption was opportune. Malcolm started up, seized his ever-ready gun, cried out to the astonished envoys, "*Baug! baug!*"—("A tiger! a tiger!") and, ordering his elephant to be brought round, rushed out of the tent. Joining his friend and one or two others, he went in pursuit of the game, and the animals were shot. He then returned to his tent, replaced his gun in the corner from which he had taken it, resumed his seat and the conference together. The envoys, in the mean while, had been declaring that he was mad. But there was method in such madness. He had done more than shoot the tigers. He had gained time. He had returned with his mind fully made up on an important point, which required consideration. And the envoys received a different and a wiser answer than would have been given if the tiger-hunt had not formed an episode in the day's council.*

* I am indebted for this characteristic story to Major Norman Shairp (of Houstoun), who kindly communicated it to me in Edinburgh, in November, 1854. Colonel Lake accompanied him to Malcolm's tent, and the Hon. Arthur Cole and the late Sir W. R. Gilbert were of the hunting-party.

The army pushed forward, and were soon in sight of the Sutlej. Malcolm had written on the 24th of November from Puteealah: "To-night or to-morrow we shall, I trust, have a dart at the vagabond, and all will be well. The only fear is getting across the river." Whether the difficulties of which he here spoke were of a physical or moral character, I do not know. Perhaps he was thinking of both. It was at least a question whether the Hindoo Sepoys would cross the Sutlej. The river was reached at the end of November. History does not record, but tradition affirms, that some of the Sepoy battalions wavered, and sate down on the river-banks. The alarming intelligence soon reached Lake and Malcolm; and the latter at once rode forward to the spot where the men had halted. Ever fertile of resource, he addressed them in a few stirring sentences. The sacred city and famous shrine of Umritsur were, he said, before them—would they shrink from such a pilgrimage? The words are reported to have had a magical and an instantaneous effect. There was no more wavering. The men went forward with their faces turned towards Umritsur.*

Having crossed the Sutlej, Lake advanced, with the eager hope of coming up with Holkar before he had crossed the Beeas. But in this he was disappointed. The fugitive Mahratta had reached Umritsur; but it was plain that his situation was a desperate one, and that there was nothing left to him but to sue for terms. Runjeet Singh had promised to befriend us, but our further advance into the heart of the Punjab was distasteful to him; so Lake took up a position on the banks of the

* This story was told me in the autumn of 1854, by the Reverend Gilbert Malcolm, Rector of Todenham, the last surviving brother of Sir John Malcolm, who has since been gathered to his fathers. He died, greatly respected by all who knew him, in the spring of 1855. Mr. Malcolm said that Sir John often related the anecdote.

Beeas, or Hyphasis, and there awaited the overtures of Holkar. He had not very long to wait. Envoys from the fugitive chief soon appeared in the British camp, and were admitted to a conference with Malcolm. A treaty was ready for the acceptance of their master. The terms which it contained were too favorable to be rejected; but it would have been a miracle if it had been accepted at once. No man was better acquainted than Malcolm with the character of Mahratta diplomacy. He knew that Holkar's Wakeels would fairly represent the cupidity of their master, and ask for everything, reasonable or unreasonable, with the slender chance of obtaining *some* concessions to their importunity. Day after day the conferences were resumed, and every day brought some new demand. There were two points, however, on which Holkar's agents insisted with more than common pertinacity. One was the restitution of Tonk Rampoora, said to be an ancient possession of the Holkar family; the other was the withdrawal by the British of all prohibition, upon their part, of his exacting from the Jyepore State the tribute which it had paid to him before we took it under our protection. With both of these demands Malcolm resolutely refused compliance. With respect to the latter, the Wakeels urged that we gained nothing by our alliance with Jyepore. To this Malcolm replied, that the good faith of the British Government was paramount over all considerations of political expediency—that we had pledged ourselves to protect Jyepore, and would not abandon it to the tender mercies of Holkar.* But, in spite of Malcolm's firmness, they continued to make fresh demands, and one day presented themselves

* At one of these conferences the Sheikh Habeeb-oollah, the chief Wakeel, said sneeringly to Malcolm that it was true we owed the Jyepore Rajah something for giving up Vizier Ali. Malcolm fired up at this, and sternly rebuked the Sheikh.

with a new treaty, which they coolly requested might be substituted for the old. More than once, indeed, were they told to leave the British camp, and inform their master that the negotiations were broken off, and that hostilities would be resumed. At last they acknowledged that they were only endeavouring to gain credit for their perseverance, and that they were instructed to accept the treaty offered, if nothing better could be obtained. Even then there was delay. The time allowed to them for the return of the treaty ratified by Holkar passed away, and still the ratification was not brought to the British camp. Again they were threatened with a renewal of hostilities; and at last the ratified treaty arrived, and a salute was fired, on the 7th of January, in honor of the restoration of peace.

By this treaty Holkar undertook to abandon all claim to territory on the north of the Chumbul river, and the English pledged themselves not to interfere with any of his possessions on the south of it. The territory on the southern side of the Taptee and Godavery rivers, wrested from him by our arms, was to be restored. He was to be allowed to return by a particular route to his own dominions; but he was to pledge himself to commit no depredations on his way, either in the Company's territory or that of our allies; and he was prohibited from entertaining any Europeans in his service, except with the express permission of the British.

The conclusion of this treaty put an end to the war. "I offer my most cordial congratulations," wrote Lord Lake to Sir George Barlow, "on an event which promises to restore complete tranquillity to India, and which you will, I am satisfied, judge to be highly favorable to the interests of the British Government." So far there was no very important difference of opinion between Lake and Malcolm on the one side, and Sir George Barlow

and his Ministers on the other. But the retrograde policy which the former believed to be so dangerous was to be carried much further than this. Sir George Barlow ratified the treaties with Scindiah and Holkar as far as they went; but he added to them certain "declaratory" articles, which, in Malcolm's opinion, undid much, if not all, that he had been endeavouring to do. The effect of these articles was to withdraw entirely all British protection from those petty States on the western bank of the Jumna, between our own frontier and the Mahratta boundary, with which, after the first war, we had entered into alliances. Sir George Barlow was of opinion that it was not only sound policy, but the policy which he was bound to enforce in obedience to the authorities at home, to sever the alliances with these petty States, and to leave them to their fate—that is, to be attacked and spoliated by the more powerful Mahratta chiefs against whom they had leagued themselves with us during the war. As I am not writing a history of India, I am not bound to enter at any length into this question. What was written upon it at the time, if put into type, would occupy many volumes. It is enough that Malcolm earnestly condemned the policy, and in Lord Lake's name publicly, and in his own privately, remonstrated against it with vehement sincerity. When remonstrances were found to be of no avail, the veteran commander begged that he might be at once relieved from his political duties. Malcolm himself had done his work, and was eager now to return to the quiet of the Mysore Residency.

The decision of Sir George Barlow was on many accounts extremely painful to him. It has been seen that, in reply to the demands of Holkar's envoys, Malcolm had peremptorily refused, on the part of the British Government, the restoration of Tonk Rampoora to that chief; and that, in answer to the request that the

English would no longer prevent Holkar from exacting tribute from the Rajah of Jyepore, he had declared, with some warmth, that, in the mind of the British Government, good faith even towards the weakest of its allies was paramount over every other consideration. The honor of the nation, he said, was at stake. But now Sir George Barlow determined to restore Tonk Rampoora to Holkar, and utterly to abandon Jyepore. With regard to the former measure, it may be said that the place was first offered to Scindiah (in lieu of the four-lakh pension), and declined on the score that it was an ancient possession of the Holkar family. With regard to the latter, it was contended by Sir George Barlow that the Rajah of Jyepore had forfeited all claim to our protection by a flagrant breach of his engagements during the late war. Lake and Malcolm argued that he had aided us, and in such a manner as to provoke the certain enmity of Holkar. But the Governor-General contended that the Rajah had hung back until he was assured of our success, and joined us only when victory could have been secured without his aid. That he acted after the manner of Native princes is certain. But the punishment, Malcolm thought, was far greater than his offence. And when, after the final determination of the British Government had been communicated to Jyepore, and the agent of that Court waited on the Commander-in-Chief, and implored him and Malcolm to save the State from the ruin impending over it, urging that it was the first time that the British Government had ever abandoned an ally from motives of mere convenience, the truth of the remonstrance was felt by the British officers in the very depths of their hearts. "This is the first measure of the kind," wrote Malcolm, "that the English have ever taken in India, and I trust in God it will be the last."

It was only in a ministerial capacity that Malcolm

acted; and Sir George Barlow said truly that the responsibility was the Governor-General's, and his alone. Full of this thought, it perhaps vexed him to see how freely one of his employés commented upon the acts of Government, and declared his own antagonistic opinions. But Malcolm had not hesitated to enunciate his sentiments without reserve even when Lord Wellesley was his opponent. Why then, he asked himself, should he hesitate to comment upon the policy of Sir George Barlow? Rightly or wrongly, he *did* comment upon it —but not always without reproof. On more than one occasion had it devolved on Mr. Edmonstone, in his capacity of Political Secretary, to communicate to his friend the expression of Sir George Barlow's displeasure —how painfully, upon his part, may be gathered from a private letter which he wrote to Malcolm on the 4th of April:

"It will be satisfactory," he wrote, "to you to know that your services have been represented to the Court of Directors in strong terms of approbation. Sir G. Barlow entertains a high sense of your zealous exertions, and only laments that they should occasionally have been directed by principles of policy in which he could not conscientiously concur. For my own part, I will only say that I have a just conception of the astonishing labors you have gone through, and the arduous nature of your situation. I am not now writing as a secretary. Believe me when I assure you that it has been with extreme distress of mind that I have been under the necessity of writing to you in the terms I have written. I well know that it has cost me, in a great degree, the loss of your regard and esteem. Painful as is this reflection, I do not consider myself entitled to complain. I submit to it, as to other evils of my situation, which have long been a source of anguish to my mind, and which have totally alienated it from this country and all that belongs to it, with the exception of the friends which it contains. My chief anxiety is now to quit a condition which I can no longer endure with comfort. . . . . My spirits are,

indeed, quite broken. I long for the period of my release with a degree of eagerness which I cannot express."

To this Malcolm wrote back a reply, distinguished by equal manliness and kindness. He esteemed and respected Edmonstone—as who did not?—and he fully appreciated the difficulties of his position:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO MR. EDMONSTONE.

Camp, April 17, 1806.

MY DEAR EDMONSTONE,—There are some parts of your letter of the 4th inst. which have given me the most serious concern; and it is a duty I owe to friendship to explain in a distinguished manner every feeling that relates to you, which late occurrences have excited in my mind. But in doing this I shall avoid as much as possible dwelling upon those opposite principles of policy which have been the subject of so much private and public discussion since the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis.

In the prosecution of this discussion, and in the support of opinions on points of what may, perhaps, be termed speculative policy, I am sensible that, under the strong impression which passing events made upon my mind, I may have often given some cause to think that I was more warm and more attached to my own judgment than the nature of the questions warranted; and this conclusion, by giving to my communications an appearance of dictating to those to whom I owed respect and obedience, has probably produced the occasional animadversions which have been made upon my conduct. It is not my intention at this moment to enter into any investigation of the justice or injustice of these animadversions, which, on reflection, have ceased to be a cause of regret, as I can only view them as the consequence of a painful but honest discharge of my duty.

I was, from peculiar occurrences, employed in a quarter of India where the operation of a new system of policy was first to be tried. I enjoyed, from my private character, the friendship of the individuals who possessed the chief power and influence in the administration; and my public services had been such as to give me a just title to the attention of Government. Under such

circumstances, it certainly became my private as well as my public duty to endeavour, by every effort within the limit of respect and obedience, to arrest the progress of measures which I was convinced, from local observation, were pregnant with equal danger to the interest and reputation of the British nation. If I had contented myself, under such a conviction, with a prudent and silent acquiescence in the system which was adopted, I might have avoided present censure, but would have merited future reproach. It might have been justly urged that I had, on an important occasion, been wanting to that character I had ever supported; and that I had, from an unmanly fear of giving offence, not stated with sufficient freedom the sentiments I entertained, and which I had, from peculiar circumstances, the best possible opportunity of forming with correctness.

Acting upon such considerations, I certainly have felt disappointed that my opinions should not merely have been treated with neglect, but upon some occasions with severity; and this disappointment has been at times increased from your being the medium of communications which were every way unpleasant and unexpected. But these feelings, though they distressed me at the moment, have never made me unjust. I have never for an instant thought you at liberty to decline conveying to me any sentiments you were desired to express by the authority under which you acted. But when I state this, I will freely own that I have seen with a regret proportionate to my conviction of the great weight which must always attach to your opinions on the subject, that you in some measure subscribed to the wisdom, or at least the expediency, of the present system of policy. My regret, however, though extreme, from my high value for your judgment, and from the unalterable conviction in my own mind of the ruinous consequences which are likely to result from present measures, has noways impaired my friendship for you, nor lessened (as you seem to think it has) my esteem and regard for your character, as I have always continued satisfied that you, like myself, have been actuated throughout the late scenes by the same desire of conscientiously discharging your duty, and that we are alike incapable of being influenced by any illiberal or interested motive.

I see with grief the distress of mind which you suffer; but I trust you will have more firmness than to allow your feelings on this occasion to operate so injuriously to your interests. You have

had a long and arduous struggle with duties, often unpleasant and always oppressing; and when your career is so near the termination to which you have for years so anxiously looked forward, you should not, my dear friend, allow a temporary depression of spirits to make you precipitate a resolution which you may have cause to repent. This is my sincere opinion; and it merits full consideration, whatever course you may pursue; and in whatever country you are, and whatever may be (to use a political phrase) our "relations," never again doubt my sincere affection and regard, which are founded upon a long and intimate acquaintance with the valuable qualities of both your head and your heart, and which can never be shaken by a casual difference of political opinion.

Yours ever most sincerely,

JOHN MALCOLM.

In the letter from Mr. Edmonstone to which this is a reply, the writer had said, "I am sorry your return is yet to be so long delayed. On very many accounts your presence here is desirable." Malcolm himself was eager to return to Mysore, and be quiet. His health was failing him again; he had overworked himself and he could look only to rest as a restorative. But there was one special and highly important duty which detained him in Upper India. After the conclusion of the peace with Holkar, the army had marched back to the provinces, and Malcolm, still at the elbow of the Commander-in-Chief, had accompanied it. Not merely were the final arrangements, of which he was the unwilling agent, with respect to the Western alliances to be carried out, but the great work of reducing the irregular troops was to be accomplished under his directions. Among the many services which he rendered to the State, this—though it makes little show in a work of biography—was not the least arduous in performance, or the least important in result. His efforts in this direction were unwearied, and they were crowned with a success which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Government. By the 1st of

April little remained of this immense body of irregulars, which had so encumbered our finances, beyond a single corps (Skinner's), and the monthly expenditure had been reduced from four lakhs to 35,000 rupees.

At the same time the provincial battalions, to which the internal defence of Upper India had been entrusted, were being disbanded. A vast amount of other detail-business also devolved upon Malcolm—business connected with the numerous claims of individuals for reward or compensation for services rendered or injuries sustained during the war. Jagheers were to be granted to some; pensions or gratuities to others. Every man's claim was to be sifted to the bottom. The Governor-General might differ in opinion from Malcolm regarding the political system most advantageous, in its application, to the interests of the State, but he could not withhold his approbation from the zealous and successful exertions which that good and faithful servant was making to wind up all the multitudinous affairs, political and financial, which remained to be adjusted—the *sequelæ* of a three years' war. Lord Lake had ever delighted to acknowledge the important assistance he had received from Malcolm; and now the Governor-General in Council declared that they "had great pleasure in expressing their high approbation of the activity, diligence, ability, and judgment manifested by Colonel Malcolm in discharge of the arduous, laborious, and important duties connected with the arrangements for the reduction of the irregular troops, and for the assignment of rewards and provisions to such individuals as had received promises, or had established claims upon the Government by their conduct during the war, and concur in opinion with his Lordship that Colonel Malcolm has accomplished these objects in a manner highly advantageous to the interests, and honorable to the reputation, of the

British Government; and consider that officer to have rendered essential public services by his indefatigable and successful exertions in the accomplishment of these important arrangements."*

The letter containing these passages was received early in May at Cawnpore, where Malcolm remained with the head-quarters of the army until the end of June. Little then remained to be done, so he took leave of Lord Lake, put himself on board a boat, and dropped down the river.

From the veteran commander with whom he had been associated throughout this eventful year, living with him in unbroken harmony and friendship, and partaking largely in all his aspirations and all his resentments, Malcolm parted with tender regret. What was his estimate of the character of the old soldier, may be gathered from a letter written at this time to Colonel Shawe. The picture of Lake painted by Malcolm is not without interest:

"I am truly proud to think that I have succeeded, to the very extent of my hope, in obtaining Lord Lake's uniform approbation; and you will be surprised to learn that I have had the good fortune to go on, through the arduous and vexatious scene in which I have been engaged, without once displeasing his Lordship in the most trifling instance. And, indeed, I have every hour received, from the first day I joined to the present moment, fresh marks of his regard, esteem, and confidence, which I attribute in the first instance to the respect and affection which Lord Lake entertains for Lord Wellesley, and the inclination he in consequence feels to be kind to any person honored by his protection; and, in the second, to the direct course I have observed, and the freedom with which I have expressed my sentiments on every occasion. For believe me, whatever defects there may be in the character of Lord Lake (and he, like other men, has his share), that of want

* *Governor-General in Council to Lord Lake; April* 20, 1806.

of accurate observation of those about him is not of the number. Indeed, he appreciates, as justly as any man I ever knew in my life, the character and views of those with whom he has personal communication. As to myself, I have a sincere attachment to the old Lord, which has been created by a full knowledge of his many admirable qualities. His heart is kind almost to weakness. He is honorable in the fullest sense of the word. And as to his military talents—let his life speak. Without that regular system, and without that comprehensive mind which theorists may conclude indispensable to form a great leader, he will (as far as I can judge), from his attention to the temper and character of those he commands—from his looking, in military points, to essentials and not trifles—and from his extraordinary energy, courage, and animation, always do more with troops than those who may be reputed abler; and I am satisfied he will always merit and enjoy the highest confidence of those under his orders. I thought you would be anxious to know what I thought of Lord Lake, and I have told you sincerely. Many may differ; but I have formed my opinion after a good deal of reflection, and after having had the best opportunity of judging of most parts of his character."

It was an abiding source of consolation to Malcolm to know that his conduct, in this difficult conjuncture, had met with the earnest approval of the veteran commander. But still more encouraging was it to learn, in due course of time, that all he had done was warmly commended by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who wrote to him many letters from England regarding the peace with Scindiah and Holkar, and all in the same strain of affectionate approbation.*

* These letters will be found in the Appendix. Their insertion here would interrupt the progress of the narrative, but it would be unjust to Malcolm to omit them.

CHAPTER XIV.

CALCUTTA AND MYSORE.

[1806—1807.]

MALCOLM AND BARLOW—DETENTION AT CALCUTTA—CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY—DEPARTURE FOR MADRAS—RETURN TO MYSORE—PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO TURKEY—LOVE, COURTSHIP, AND MARRIAGE.

On his arrival at Calcutta, Malcolm was welcomed by many friends, and many houses were opened to him. He accepted, in the first instance, the invitation of Mr. Henry Colebrooke, and afterwards removed to the house of his young friend John Adam, whose many great and good qualities he had discerned from the very commencement of the rising civilian's career.

By Sir George Barlow he was received with politeness and respect. It was hardly in the nature of things that there should have been much cordiality between them. Apart from the discordance of their political opinions, there was an utter dissimilarity of character. I suspect that they did not understand one another. Barlow was a man of a reserved nature, and seemingly of a cold temperament. Malcolm was all openness and geniality; he wore his heart upon his sleeve. Barlow, with an extensive and accurate knowledge of things combined little real knowledge of men. Malcolm had mixed

largely with mankind, and his discernment of individual character had been one of the great sources of his success. Barlow had immense respect for the written law, the dignity of office, and the gradations of authority; he never encroached on the privilege or prerogative of others, and never yielded an iota of his own. Malcolm, on the other hand, looking beyond the regulations and authorities of the day, idealised the Public Service, and did what he conceived to be his duty to the State without much regard to formality or much respect for prerogative. They were both strong-minded and courageous men, but after very different fashions. Neither shrunk from responsibility. Neither suffered any consideration of self to move him from the strict performance of his duty. But they had different views of public duty. If Malcolm's were the more exalted, it is certain that Barlow's were the more constitutional. And it was natural that in the heat of a great political contest, and at a period of almost unexampled excitement, they should have misunderstood and mistrusted each other. At all events, it is certain that though neither doubted the honor of the other, the civilian looked upon the soldier as a presumptuous and disobedient servant, whilst the soldier regarded the civilian as a cold and servile formalist, seeking rather the immediate approbation of his employers than the ultimate good of the State.

Both were wrong. But it is necessary thus to explain the sources of the mutual error which rendered the meeting of Malcolm and Barlow in Calcutta somewhat stately and reserved. The Governor-General, however, though he did not understand Malcolm's character, appreciated both the extent of his knowledge and the fulness of his zeal. And he was glad to turn both to account. What was the nature of the intercourse be-

tween them may be gathered from Malcolm's own letters written from Calcutta at this time:

[To Lord Wellesley.]—I have received every polite attention from Sir G. Barlow since I came here. He has, however, limited his communications to points on which he could refer to no other with equal hope of information. He has adopted *half* of my opinion, as stated in the memorandum I sent your Lordship, about Rewaree. He has, at my earnest suggestion, written, if not a spirited, a decided answer to a letter received from Jeswunt Rao Holkar, in which that chief reiterates some of his former unreasonable demands; and he has requested me to settle a number of points with the Persian Ambassador, with whom I found Government at variance upon a hundred questions. He has promised attention to the suggestion I have stated respecting Mysore, where, I can collect from his manner, he wishes me to be as soon as possible.

On my arrival here I made an inquiry into the state of my affairs, which showed clearly that, though my expenses had been paid (as far as the usages of the service would admit), my fortune was diminished in a considerable degree by the constant extra missions on which I had been employed for these last four or five years—*i. e.* I possess less than I must have had if I had remained stationary like other Residents. This circumstance I stated in a public letter, and I am told it is intended to write by the next packet on the subject, and that Government mean to express their conviction, on the grounds I have stated, of my right to a compensation, independent of the great claims I have established on their notice by the various services which I have performed. I have little or no expectation of any favor from the Court of Directors; but I thought it right to obtain (as I have done) a recognition of a just claim from this Government, and to establish that I had suffered, instead of benefiting in my private circumstances, by the extra duties on which I had been employed.*

* In this letter Malcolm speaks of his literary projects. "Your Lordship," he writes, "will be pleased to know that I mean to take advantage of the leisure which I promise myself at Mysore to prosecute my plan of preparing an account of Persia. I have almost finished a long and detailed paper on the Sikhs, of whose history and religion and present critical state I have been enabled by circumstances to collect considerable information.

[To Lord William Bentinck.]—All my baggage was embarked, and I meant to have followed in a few hours, when I received a message from Sir G. Barlow, the purport of which was that he wished I would defer my departure. This I of course received as a command. I refer Sir George Barlow's conduct on this point to the state of circumstances in Hindostan, which, though it may not threaten an immediate renewal of hostilities, is far from being perfectly settled, and everything is kept in commotion by the vicinity of Jeswunt Row Holkar, who takes full advantage of the unfortunate opportunity which has been afforded him, not only to remain in the vicinity of our provinces, but to vex them with continual intrigues. The consequence of this state is the daily occurrence of political questions, upon which Sir George finds I am able, from local knowledge, to throw considerable light; and to this I attribute his desire that I should stay. I have plainly told him I am convinced that nothing but the most decided conduct will avert the evils by which we are threatened, and he appears inclined to adopt such a system; but he is, no doubt, much perplexed with a reflection on his own situation, which is a very precarious one, and with the difficulty of reconciling any appearance of vigor and resolution with the mild and inoffensive principles of that doctrine of which he has so recently declared himself the complete convert.

I have, at his particular desire, given him several memorandums since my arrival at Calcutta, and he has ventured, upon the strong practical grounds I have stated, to depart, in some instances, from his declared former intentions, and I indulge a hope he will early perceive the necessity of still greater deviations from a system which I dare pronounce, from the short experience I have had of its operation, to be of a nature that makes peace insecure, and war impracticable.

My present intention is to give this paper to the Asiatic Society. If I do not, I shall send a copy in manuscript to your Lordship." This paper was published among the *Asiatic Researches;* but subsequently (1812) reproduced in a separate form. All the later information which we have gained regarding these people, now our own subjects, has only tended to show the accuracy of this early sketch. There are some anecdotes in the volume illustrative of Malcolm's intercourse with the Sikhs, when in the Punjab in 1806, which I was half-tempted to quote in the preceding chapter. But I omitted them under the impression, that having been in print for so many years, they may be familiar to a large number of my readers. The same consideration has restrained me generally from quoting Malcolm's printed works.

[To Lord Wellesley.] — This desire for my remaining longer at Calcutta surprised me more, as I had good grounds for concluding that Sir George wished me at Mysore; but the cause of this change of sentiment was explained when I saw Mr. Seton's reports from Hindostan, in which he states serious apprehensions of Holkar's having hostile intentions, and of his being busy in forming connexions with our discontented dependents. Though Sir George does not give entire credit to Mr. Seton's reports, they have made sufficient impression to render him desirous of the presence of a person who can, from personal and local knowledge, aid him to appreciate the attention they merit. I have, of course, acquiesced cheerfully in this detention, though I do not think it probable any opinions of mine will ever be adopted in a manner that will be beneficial to the public interests; every statement is favorably received, and its truth and justice acknowledged, but it is first modelled with a view of reconciling its adoption to prior proceedings, and next with that of suiting it to the palate of the Directors; and after undergoing this alterative course, it cannot be supposed to retain much of its original character.

I have, in the conferences I have had with Sir George Barlow, stated my opinions with the most perfect freedom, and he has been very flattering in his attention. He refers his conduct on some of the points of his administration that are least defensible to the exigency produced by the state of the finances, and to the necessity of attending to the orders of the Court of Directors; but the first of these causes could only have a mere temporary operation, and though it might render some measures expedient, it never can be assumed as a basis on which a permanent system is to rest; and as to the orders of the Directors, a Governor-General who does not exercise his discretion on that point is false to the first and greatest of those powers which the legislative wisdom of his country has reposed in him; but there is no occasion for speculation on this subject, as I am satisfied, from present appearances, that events will early force even this Government to abandon a system of policy which, in spite of the great authorities by which it is supported, I will pledge myself to prove to demonstration makes peace insecure, and war impracticable.

I do not think an immediate renewal of hostilities with Holkar probable, unless he is permitted (which I still fear he will be) to enter Hindostan, and proceed to plunder the countries between

the Jumna and Sutlej; in such case the occurrence or non-occurrence of war will neither depend upon Holkar nor us, but upon the will and pleasure of a host of plunderers (chiefly inhabitants of our own provinces), who will flock to this licensed freebooter, who will become, more than he has ever yet been, dependent on their caprice. The first result of this *liberal* policy will be to change a narrow and strong frontier, which we at present possess, for an extended and weak line. Instead of having only to depend from Rewaree to Agra against the encroachments of the Mahrattas, we shall have from the hills near Karnal and Saharunpoor to Agra. The moment Holkar passes Delhi, we must form (on grounds of necessity which Sir George himself admits) an army at the head of the Doab, and thus, during peace, incur an increased expenditure in military preparations, without adding one iota to our security.

Nor was it only in Northern India that Malcolm, at this time, saw elements of danger which called for the wisest and most vigorous administration of Indian affairs. That disastrous incident known in history as the massacre of Vellore, had then recently occurred. From one end of India to another it was a foremost topic of discourse. It is well known what was said and thought about an event which was really less significant than it seemed. To Malcolm it appeared that the evil was one which could only be successfully encountered by a statesman vested at the same time with the supreme civil and military authority; and he was eager that Sir Arthur Wellesley should go out to Madras as Governor and Commander-in-Chief:

"I have no secrets with you," he wrote to Sir John Anstruther,* "and I cannot suppress the fears which these melancholy events have excited. If the administration in England were guided by no views but an abstract consideration of the national interests,

* Sir John Anstruther had been Chief Justice of Bengal. He was at this time in England.

they would on this great emergency select a man qualified from reputation, knowledge, and experience, to remedy this great evil, and they would vest him with every power that was necessary to the accomplishment of the object. He should be an officer, because it appears on this occasion indispensable to depart from the usual system, and to combine two authorities, which the crisis requires to be combined, to save the public service from that danger to which it may be exposed from divided authority and distracted councils. As far as I can judge (and I offer my opinion without any consideration but the public good), Sir A. Wellesley is the only man who combines the requisite qualifications with that local experience and local reputation which is absolutely requisite to secure success to his exertions. I should, if he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Fort St. George, have perfect confidence that this desperate evil would be corrected, and that the imminent danger with which the State has been threatened would be completely removed."

At the same time he wrote to Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, saying:

"Periods, my dear Wellesley, sometimes occur in which an individual has the power, from fortuitous events, of serving his country far beyond the extent of common calculation; this appears to me one of them. The evil which has occurred upon the coast can only be removed by the application of all the attention, all the vigilance, and all the efforts of an able and united local Government for a series of years. The spirit of disaffection which has appeared being dormant for a period must not be received as a proof of its being extinct. It is, perhaps, in the most dangerous progress when the lull is greatest. Radical changes are, I fear, required in the system, and these can only be made by a person who unites the advantages of distinguished talents with local experience and local reputation. The Governor-General may plan with wisdom, but unless his views are to be seconded, and the work done by a competent local authority, his views will be frustrated, and his hopes defeated. You will conclude to what this leads, and anticipate my opinion that you should, upon this unexpected and

alarming emergency, offer your services and proceed to India, on their agreeing to combine in your person the powers of the civil and military government. With less power you might be useful, but your success would not be certain; and if attention to system supersedes on this occasion a consideration of the public interests, I would not advise you to hazard your great character by the acceptance of a military power, which may be limited and counteracted in every exertion by the interference of an opposite and controlling authority. You know me incapable of flattery; my opinion may, on this occasion, be erroneous, but it is fixed beyond the power of being altered, that upon your appointment to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras the actual preservation of that part of our British Empire may, in a great degree, depend. I deplore as much as any man can deplore the existence of a state of affairs so melancholy as one in which any individual can become of such consequence, but it does exist; and unless a man is appointed whom the Native troops regard with respect and affection, whom their European officers know and esteem, and who unites in his person that general opinion which gives success from anticipating it, I shall tremble for the consequences, whereas, under the arrangement I have suggested, my mind would be at rest upon the result.

"I have been very anxious to proceed to Mysore, but must remain here a month longer, which will give me an opportunity of seeing the new Governor-General, with whom I shall communicate or not, as he shows the disposition. I shall certainly intrude neither my information nor my opinions upon his notice. My whole time has been occupied for these last two months with a large paper on the political administration of India for these last twenty years, which I think may be useful, as it takes a comprehensive view of a subject which never can be understood from a partial view. I have access to documents that few others have; and from having gone over almost all the ground (actually, and not on paper), I have, perhaps, as just an idea of the practicability of the different systems as any individual in India."*

* To Lord Wellesley he wrote in the same strain, urging the despatch of his brother to India. "Your Lordship knows," he said, "that I am no alarmist. This is the first time I have ever trembled for British India. It is one of those dangers of which it is impossible to calculate either the ex-

In what manner Sir Arthur Wellesley viewed the question of his return to India, suggested by Malcolm—and indeed by others—may be gathered from the following letters written in the spring and autumn of this year. Sir Arthur Wellesley would have returned to India if he had been invited; but his friends thought that he could render more essential service to his country nearer home:

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

London, February 23, 1807.

My dear Malcolm,—I had intended to write to you by Lord Minto, but he left town very suddenly while I was hunting at Hatfield, and he had sailed before I heard of his departure from London. But I hear that the Indiamen are to sail immediately, and I will not suffer them to go without a letter. I will not pretend to give you an account of the state of public affairs, of which you will be enabled to form a better judgment by a perusal of the newspapers than by anything I could write to you. The Ministry are certainly very strong in Parliament, and I think are getting on a little in the country. But they will never be so popular as Pitt was; and I think that there are symptoms in this country and in Ireland which require the serious attention of every man who wishes for the continuance of the empire and the prosperity of Great Britain. They are coming to their senses greatly about India, and I know that Tierney has some good principles in relation to that country, and that he would govern it well if he had the power. A revolution is also in progress, slowly but very certainly, in the public mind respecting the former system of government there and that according to which affairs ought to be administered there in future. The Court of Directors are certainly less hostile than they were towards Lord Wellesley; and as for me, I have the most certain proofs that they are desirous that I should serve them again. All this looks

tent, the progress, or the consequences. Its nature is, I confess, calculated to give an exaggerated impression of its magnitude. But the operation of this impression, already shown in several false alarms, forms in itself no slight part of this danger."

well, and I am sanguine in my expectations that all difficulties upon these subjects will soon have been overcome.

You will have been astonished at the career of James Paull the tailor, your quondam friend and *protégé*.* He certainly was nearly being the representative of Westminster, owing, partly, to the unpopularity of Sheridan, partly to his own impudence, and partly to the power which Horne Tooke and Cobbett have acquired over the public mind. I was the first person who discovered that the characteristic of Paull was perseverance, effrontery, and impudence; and when you conceive such a character, you will not be astonished at all that he has done—notwithstanding the kicks, cuffs, and buffeting which we gave him last year in Parliament—and all that he still threatens. He is not now in Parliament, and Lord Folkestone,† who was one of his supporters last year, has announced his intention of moving a resolution on the transactions in Oude. He brings no charge, however, and he does not mean to criminate Lord Wellesley, and he has particularly stated that he does not think there is the smallest ground for attributing to Lord Wellesley the waste of the public money. We shall beat him, whatever may be the nature of his resolution. Another gentleman, Sir Thomas Turton,‡ has given notice of a day for moving again for the printing of the Carnatic papers, with a view to the consideration of the transactions in the revolution in that country. We shall beat him likewise. You will readily believe that Lord Wellesley is much annoyed by all this; but his mind is more composed, and he is more reconciled to his situation than he was last year.

Alas! my dear Malcolm, what is come over the army of Fort St. George? What are we to believe? Is it possible that the princes at Vellore can have corrupted the detachment at Hyderabad at the distance of five hundred miles? Surely these princes, in confinement, and possessing but limited pecuniary means, could never have had the power of creating a general interest in their favor throughout the whole of the Native army of Fort St. George, dispersed as it is over thousands of miles! I am all anxiety upon this subject, and yet I have not received a line from

* Mr. Paull, who had formerly resided at Lucknow, had brought charges against Lord Wellesley in Parliament.

† The late Lord Radnor.

‡ Father of the late Sir Thomas Turton, Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

a soul. Nobody believes the accounts which have been received from India upon this subject, notwithstanding the character and credit of those who have transmitted them, and the mind of every man is filled with suspicion and alarm. Surely the brave fellows who went through the difficulties and dangers of the Mahratta campaign cannot have broken their allegiance! I can never believe it till I shall see it proved in the clearest manner.

I wish that you were now in England, but I doubt whether it will be of any use to you to come hereafter. Government have some thoughts of sending an embassy to Persia; Baghdad Jones as the ambassador. I put a spoke in his wheel the other day, I think, in conversation with Tierney, and urged him to get Lord Howick* to appoint you. God knows whether I have succeeded in the last object, although I made it clear that Jones was an improper man, and that you were the only one fit for the station. I do not recommend it to you to be in a hurry to come to England. Expenses here are very heavy, and fortunes very large. Notwithstanding all the taxes, and the rise in price of every article in life, there is more luxury than ever, more appearance of riches in the country, and more persons with large fortunes, and fewer with fortunes of a moderate extent, than there were formerly. You could not exist in the way you would like under a much larger fortune than you possess; and, take my word for it, you will lose nothing by staying away from England a little longer. Pray don't forget to remember me to all my friends, particularly to Wilks,† Close,‡ Barclay, Symonds,§ Piele, Cole‖ (if he should be with you), Buchan,¶ &c., &c. Tell Buchan that I have endeavoured to serve him in his difficulties. The Court of Directors are outrageous against him, for no reason whatever. I am not sure that I have not prevailed with T. to prevent them from venting their rage in paragraphs in a general letter. God bless you.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

A. WELLESLEY.

* The late Lord Grey.

† Major Mark Wilks, the historian of Southern India, who had acted in Malcolm's absence as Resident at Mysore.

‡ Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry Close.

§ Major Barclay and Captain Symonds had been on General Wellesley's staff.

‖ Mr. Piele and the Hon. Arthur Cole had been assistants to the Mysore Resident.

¶ Mr. Buchan was a member of the Madras Civil Service, and at this time Chief Secretary.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 15, 1807.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I received your letters written in March a few days ago upon my return from Zealand, and I took care to communicate to Mr. Dundas your sentiments on the state of the army, and on the causes which have led to the unpleasant temper which appears to exist in it. I agree with you entirely in some of your opinions on the causes which have produced this temper, particularly among the officers; and I also agree in your opinions on the remedies which ought to be adopted. Fairness of temper, and uniformity and good sense in conduct by the Government, would soon bring all about; and I have no doubt whatever, that if it should please the Government here to send me to India again, I should have it in my power to re-establish the temper and spirit of the army in the manner in which it existed in our latter times. I acknowledge, however, that I have not much fear for the safety of India, even if things should remain some time longer as they are. No country was ever lost by the mutiny, much less by the discontent, of its troops, and I am not quite certain that in order to procure radical good it is not requisite to show the necessity of a complete change in respect to Indian measures and opinions, and to let matters continue for some time longer in the unpleasant state in which they are. But I have no inclination to refuse my services in that country if they should be called for at present, or to do anything here to serve those for whom I must ever retain the strongest sentiments of gratitude and affection. I don't think it probable that I shall be called upon to go to India; the fact is, that men in power in England think very little of that country; and those who do think of it, feel very little inclination that I should go there. Besides that, I have got pretty high upon the tree since I came here, and those in power think that I cannot well be spared from objects nearer home. At the same time, the Indians in London are crying out for my return.

I shall not pretend to give you any news. You will see the accounts of our Zealand expedition, which has had great effect in London, and has added to the popularity and strength of the

Ministry. The Danes did not defend themselves very well, and I think that we might have taken their capital with greater ease than we forced them to the capitulation which I settled with them. I am now come here in consequence of the disturbed state of this country, and I shall stay here till the meeting of Parliament.

I strongly recommend to you not to return home as long as your health will allow you to remain in India, and as you can retain your office. Take my word for it, you are not yet sufficiently rich; you will have to return there, and you may possibly find it difficult to get employment in the line to which you are so well suited, and to which you have always been accustomed. Remember me most kindly to Wilks, Close, Barclay, and all friends, and believe me, my dear Malcolm,

Ever yours most affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

We may be sure that Malcolm was not sorry to leave Calcutta. He had intended to start, at the beginning of the cold weather, by land, for Madras; but the "return of a complaint in his leg," as he wrote to Sir John Craddock, compelled him to go by sea; and he set sail at the beginning of the year. On the 14th of January he arrived, "better, but not quite recovered," and was soon deep in council with Lord William Bentinck. He was obliged, however, soon to betake himself to his room, and remain quiet. "I have been laid up since I came here," he wrote to Colonel Lake, "but I have had crowded levees, and among the visitors all the great. These honors do not turn my head, for the sentiment of my mind is more that of pity than of admiration of some of our first characters here. I am reserved upon past subjects, but ready to give my opinion on what is to be done; but that will not, I think, be much courted. Men are fond of consistency, even in error. I want to keep clear of all discussions, to draw my salary for eighteen months, and to join you in old England,

where, by the blessing of God, we will have famous skylarking."*

"The doctor takes his leave to-morrow," wrote Malcolm to Lord Lake on the 8th of February. He was now anxious to proceed with the least possible delay to Mysore. "The great rulers treat me," he said, "as I expected—with much attention, but little confidence."—"I mean to proceed in eight days more," he wrote to Lord Wellesley on the 4th of March, "to Mysore,† where I anxiously hope I may be permitted to stay during the short period I mean to remain in India. Those motives that would have carried me dawk over the world exist no longer."—"I anticipate with pleasure," he said in another letter, "the prospect of one year's quiet; and that is, I trust, the extent of the period that I shall remain. God knows I should be glad to abridge even that, if possible. I do not think it at all likely that any event can arise that would lead the Governor-General to wish me to move again. But if there should, I must trust to your endeavours to prevent it, for every consideration concurs to make me now as desirous to avoid active employment on the public service as ever I was to court it. I need not state to you the proofs I have given of not being deficient in public zeal. I have been rewarded, I admit, by distinction in the service; but if a man is wished to go on, further stimulus must be found, and I confess, as far as I can judge my own case, I have every inducement to stop, and not a solitary one to proceed. . . . . My mind is as full of ambition as ever; but I have determined, on the most serious reflection, to

* In this letter there is another characteristic passage, worthy of a place in a note: "The races are on the 26th. Grant and I have two horses for the two first maidens, *Marquis* and *Sir Arthur* (all in the family). If not lamed by the course, which from want of rain is like brick, they will, I think, run hard for both purses."

† His departure was subsequently delayed. He started on the 21st of March.

retire, and avoid all public employment, unless a period arrives in which I can be certain that my services will be justly appreciated and rewarded. And if it is conceived that any ability, knowledge, or experience I possess can be usefully directed to the promotion of the public interests, I must be stimulated to exertion by a fair prospect of just and honorable encouragement."

So Malcolm turned his face to Mysore in no very happy frame of mind. It need not be repeated that he was a man of a cheerful nature and a sanguine temperament; but he had strong feelings, was very sensible of injustice and ingratitude, and a knowledge of unrequited service always stung him to the quick. It hurt him in the tenderest point to think that all his zealous and successful exertions in behalf of the national interests had not secured for him the good-will of his employers. He never forgot that he was the servant of the East India Company, and that to the East India Company he had a right to look for the recognition of his services. But his friends at home assured him that he was regarded with no sort of favor at the India House. He was looked upon as a disciple of the dangerous Wellesley school, and, what is more, the very cock and captain of it.* Charles Grant was in those days little less than the Company itself; and he was, on principle, averse to war and conquest. I cannot mention his name without

* Malcolm at this time had just received a letter from a friend in London, containing the following passage: "Your friends are rejoiced that you were the instrument of the general pacification of India; and from the joy which that event gave to all parties, and particularly to the Court of Directors, combined with the very handsome testimony of Lord Lake and of Government to your services, they thought that your conduct would receive high approbation, if not solid reward. My anxieties led me to make inquiries on the subject, and I am indignant at stating the result. Everything is ruled by party spirit. Every testimony to your services is received with disgust instead of approbation, as adding to the reputation of a man whose crime it is to have been distinguished under the Government of Lord Wellesley, and who is believed to remain attached to that nobleman."

respect. Whatever he said, or whatever he did, had the stamp of honesty upon it. He was thoroughly conscientious: always in earnest. But I believe that he did not always estimate aright the force of circumstances under which others acted; and that therefore, without knowing it, he was sometimes prejudiced, and, without meaning it, unjust.

But the irritation in Malcolm's mind was but temporary. His natural cheerfulness and geniality soon asserted themselves; and he had scarcely returned to Mysore before he was ready for any great enterprise that might afford an opportunity for strenuous action. There was not much to be done in Mysore. Fortunate alike in its European and in its Native administrators, the country was flourishing to our heart's content. It had not only had the benefit of the master-minds of Arthur Wellesley, Barry Close, Josiah Webbe, and Mark Wilks, but it had found in the Dewan Purneah a native statesman equally honest and able, bent upon co-operating to the utmost with these high-minded English officers. Malcolm said, and truly, that it was the "best model of this description of Asiatic connexion;"* and he doubtless

* Whilst at Madras, Malcolm wrote to Sir Edward Pellew a long and very able letter on the different Native States—one of those marvels of industry which are continually exciting our wonder that a man who was so continually on the move could find time to write so much and so well. In this letter he says: "The Rajah of Mysore is a minor, and affairs are conducted by the Dewan, or Minister, whose name is Purneah. He has held high station in Mysore for nearly fifty years; and was as much respected for his wisdom and talent for government by Hyder and Tippoo as he is now by the Mysore and English Governments. All communications with this State are conducted through the Resident, whose duty it is to aid with his advice without interfering with the management of the country. As the representative of the Supreme Government, he possesses an influence which is sufficient to check any disposition to go wrong in the Mysore Government, and his authority shields it from any excesses on the part of the British military stationed in its provinces. . . . . The connexion between Mysore and the British Government owes much to the ability and integrity of Sir A. Wellesley, Colonel Close, the late Mr. Webbe, and Major Wilks, whose talents have been successfully employed in its improvement and cultivation. I have been Resident of Mysore for nearly four years, but have been absent almost all

intended to convey higher praise than the words actually contain. The fact is, that at this time it was the only good model. But pleasant as it was to contemplate so much prosperity, Malcolm had been too long accustomed to an active, stirring life, to satisfy himself with the mere routine work of keeping things as they were in their right places, and superintending the proper working of the model machine. He ever desired to have work to do—but here the work was already done. It was, I suspect, nothing more than a delusion, when he thought that he coveted a life of repose. Indeed, those were not days when any man who felt himself capable of energetic action was justified in retiring from the scene. It was an age of revolutions and revulsions. The destinies of nations were trembling in the balance. India—England—the homes of Englishmen all over the world, were threatened by the gigantic ambition of the French conqueror. Every fleet from Europe brought tidings of great events which stirred Malcolm's heart as with the sound of a trumpet, and made him eager to take part in the great struggle for existence. What if the French established themselves in Turkey—snatching the pillow from beneath the head of the "sick man"—and struck thence at the British-Indian Empire? Might not a small, well-equipped force, be despatched to Bussorah—and who so fit to command it as Malcolm? It was, at all events, a suggestion worthy to be conveyed to the Governor-General, so he wrote to the Chief Secretary on the subject:

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*May* 6, 1807.—If a war with the Porte takes place, I consider it as a matter of course that every measure will be taken to distress that State, as the likeliest mode

that period on other duties, and have, therefore, had little opportunity of promoting the success of the alliance. But I am now on the road to settle there for a year or two; and during that period I shall labor hard to confirm and strengthen the good work of my able predecessors."

of forcing it to withdraw from its present connexion with France. Our means of striking at the power and resources of the Turkish Empire from this quarter, either by arms or negotiation, are too obvious, I should conceive, to escape observation in England, and, if war takes place, orders, I think, to that effect, may be anticipated.

Under this impression, I beg you will communicate to Sir George Barlow my willingness to afford every aid that my knowledge of the means and disposition of the Court of Persia and that of Baghdad enables me to afford, with respect to the best mode of attacking the eastern possessions of Turkey, or of exciting other States to that measure, and of my readiness to proceed in charge of any important political mission and command of any expedition* (that may eventually be sent in that quarter) should Government consider my local experience and information such as to qualify me for so high a trust.

Unless Buonaparte meets an early check, an event which I am concerned to say is rather to be hoped than expected, the safety of our country must depend upon our making the most active and vigorous struggles to limit his career in every quarter of the universe. This consideration must be paramount to all others, or we are lost, and it ought to actuate the conduct of every individual as well as that of Government. I am sure it does mine, and would make me at this moment (though most anxious to retire from all public life in India) engage with ardor in any scene where I might hope to contribute my mite of exertion (trifling as it would be) towards the great national object of checking the progress of this modern Poliphemus, whose present arrogant design appears to be to reserve our dear island as the last morsel that is to be crammed into his insatiable maw.

[To Mr. Edmonstone.]—*May* 25, 1807.—I wrote you a short letter under date the 6th of May, expressing my readiness to go to Bussorah, if the Governor-General thought of employing me in that quarter. War against the Turks has, I observe, commenced, and I must believe it probable a blow will be struck at that empire in a quarter where it is at once so weak and so vital. I believe a thousand European infantry, two troops of European dragoons, a regiment of Native cavalry, and two battalions of

* "A very large expedition would not be required. I am a lieutenant-colonel of three years' standing, and of sufficient rank to command one that was not larger. At all events, the separation of high political powers from military trust would be fatal to success."—J. M.

Sepoys, with a corps of horse artillery, would be an amply sufficient force to commence with. It might be supported or not hereafter, as circumstances required; but with it the Pacha of Baghdad would either be forced to throw off his allegiance and act against the Porte, or he would inevitably lose Bussorah and Baghdad. The Persians would with alacrity join against the Turks.

Sir George Barlow was not a man, under any circumstances, to send the Company's troops to Turkey; but at that time the arrival of his successor was expected, and he could not, of course, commit another to measures of which he might not approve. Lord Minto had been appointed Governor-General of India. In the course of June he arrived at Madras. Did Malcolm then hurry down to meet the new ruler—or did he urge this expedition upon him in a letter, bristling with facts and weighty with arguments? No; he wrote a letter to his friend John Elliot,* the son and private secretary of the Governor-General, in which he requested only to be left to his repose:

"I am sensible," he wrote, "that your kindness and friendship may lead you to say more of me to your father than I merit, and to raise expectations I cannot answer, and this consideration leads me to inform you (in confidence) of my future views and wishes, with which you are, I believe, already generally acquainted.

"My chief object is to remain, while in India, quiet at Mysore, and the desire I have to avoid future active employment in this country (even if I had the option) refers to causes which do not appear likely to change, as the last letters I have from my friends in England inform me that the late strong recommendations of me to the authorities in England are likely to share the same fate as that which has attended every testimony of my public services for these last nine years—that is, to be totally neglected; and that I never (if my exertions are ever so successful and distinguished) need expect different treatment, as I have committed the crime of doing

* The Honorable John Elliot, of the Bengal Civil Service, now (1855) member for Roxburghshire.

my duty under Lord Wellesley, and am supposed to continue attached to that nobleman. If such are the grounds upon which I am to be judged, long may I be honored with their reprobation. But though independence of mind and circumstances makes me indifferent to such treatment, as far as it relates to myself personally, as it can have no effect upon me but that of limiting an ambition the gratification of which might not have added to my happiness, I dread the operation of such vile party spirit which cannot but repress that zeal and ardor that are so indispensable to the discharge of high and important duties in an empire of this magnitude.

"You will pardon this selfish digression, but it was necessary I should state the motives that incline me to ease instead of action, and which would make me adverse (unless on some very urgent call) to re-embark on any active scenes. My ambition to raise myself in life is as strong as ever, but I at last perceive that this country is unfavorable to the attainment of that object, and am therefore little inclined to sacrifices which promise no adequate return, and in future (unless some great changes take place) I must be content to recognise (which I have hitherto never done) as a leading principle of action, the sordid motive of adding a few more rupees to my fortune, that I may be the sooner enabled to revisit the lovely banks of the Eske, from my cottage on which I will pay an occasional visit to your proud mansion on the banks of the Teviot."*

To this letter, written on the 29th of June, Lord Minto himself replied, thanking Malcolm for kindnesses conferred upon his son. "I am anxious also," he wrote, "to assure you with my own hand that nothing would have been more gratifying to me than the pleasure of making your acquaintance, or more profitable than the instruction you are able to afford on the most important

* In reply to what Malcolm had said about the "banks of the Teviot," Lord Minto wrote: "The prospects which you open of future intercourse between the Eske and the Teviot are distant, but very alluring. I must not yet, however, permit even my imagination to travel in that direction. I trust, however, such days may come, and while they are preparatory, I beg you to believe in my regard and esteem."

branches of our public affairs. I should, indeed, have yielded to the temptation of inviting you to Madras, if I had not been restrained by a consideration, of which, although it must carry me back, I fear, thirty years, I still perfectly feel the force."

To the explorer of Sir John Malcolm's correspondence the meaning of this would not be very clear, if it were not for a brief postscript in the letter quoted above to Mr. John Elliot. In this postscript Malcolm writes: "Charlotte desires me to send her kindest regards. It is to take place on the 4th of July." Before Lord Minto wrote it *had* taken place. The *it* was Malcolm's marriage.

We see now what was the cause of the altered tone of Malcolm's correspondence—why the expedition to Turkey gave place in his desires to a season of repose. From this time the world and all within it—its joys, its sorrows, and its duties, were to wear a different aspect. At Madras, Malcolm had been on terms of intimacy with Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn.* The lady was the eldest daughter of Colonel Alexander Campbell, of his Majesty's 74th Regiment, who subsequently rose to the command of the Madras army.† A younger sister, Miss Charlotte Campbell, was then an inmate of the house. Up to this time Malcolm had carried about with him a heart the warmest affections of which were given to his mother and his sisters. It was, in truth, a very warm and loving heart. But a life of constant action—of change of scene,

* Brother of that Mr. Cockburn, of whom mention has been made, in connexion with the retirement of Lord Clive, in Chapter VIII.

† After fighting under Wellington, both in India and in the Peninsula, and receiving for his distinguished services in the field a Baronetcy and K.C.B.-ship, Sir Alexander Campbell was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Madras, where he died in December, 1824. He had two sons in the army, both of whom were killed in action, in consequence of which, as a special mark of royal favor, the baronetcy was continued in the female line, and is now represented by Mrs. Cockburn's son—Sir Alexander Cockburn Campbell, who married his cousin, Sir John Malcolm's eldest daughter.

of change of society, of varied objects and varied interests—is never favorable to the growth of that tender, but absorbing, passion which, once developed, influences the whole of a man's subsequent career. At the barbarous courts and in the busy camps, where so large a portion of Malcolm's adult life had been spent, the voice of woman syllabling the language of his country had been heard only in his dreams. At other times—brief intervals—when on the Staff at Madras or Calcutta, his mind was full of ambition; or more truly, it may be said, he had found nothing so attractive as to dispute with that great manly passion the possession of his heart. But now—a man of Malcolm's character does everything in earnest, and in a large way—his acquaintance with Charlotte Campbell soon ripened into love. With the charms of youth and beauty were united in her a good natural understanding and a cultivated mind. Vivacious without levity, elegant without affectation, she attracted and interested Malcolm by the cheerfulness of her disposition and the grace of her demeanor; and he soon found, on nearer acquaintance, that these were but the outward signs of a well-regulated mind. He loved as men love in the vigor of their years, in the maturity of their intellect, when the freshness of the heart has survived the departure of youth by bravely withstanding its trials and temptations. There are many who at four-and-twenty are much older, in respect of all the exhaustion of age, than Malcolm was at eight-and-thirty.

Years, indeed, sate lightly upon him. There were few men in India of a finer presence; few more active, more cheerful, more full of enthusiasm, more adroit in all athletic exercises. But there were higher qualities than these to secure the success of his suit. To the young lady's father their engagement gave infinite satisfaction. He knew Malcolm well, and he wrote to him saying,

"Were the choice of all the men in India in my offer for my daughter, I would have pitched upon you. To your cherishing care I consign my beloved child, in the fullest confidence and conviction that you are every way worthy of her." So on the 4th of July, John Malcolm and Charlotte Campbell became man and wife*—and the plan of the Turkish expedition was folded up for a time. What a difference had a few days—had a few words—made! On the 25th of May, Malcolm had "repeated with anxiety his offers of service," to lead an expedition to Turkey; and on the 30th, the dearest object of life encompassed by four walls, he was writing to Colonel Campbell, asking for his daughter's hand. The expedition to Turkey so eagerly sought was a sign only of the inquietude and uncertainty of love.

And now Malcolm was thoroughly happy. But he was not a man to subside into inaction because he had a young wife to make idleness a delight. He was not a man, in common phrase, to be spoilt by marriage; nor was Charlotte Malcolm one likely so to spoil him. What he had long wanted was, "some one to trust his glory to;" some one near at hand to be proud of his success. He had found one; a soldier's daughter fit to be a soldier's wife. After so many years of stirring and trying work, the enjoyment of a few months of repose was, perhaps, the best service he could render to the State. But he soon felt that he was ready again for a life of action. There was now a new incentive to exertion. The once cherished idea of a speedy return to England was abandoned. So Malcolm again turned his thoughts towards some extensive scene of action, on which new honors might be gained to ennoble the name he had given to his wife.

* They were married at Mysore, whither Mr. Cockburn's family had accompanied Malcolm on a visit to the Residency.

He was not altogether satisfied with his situation at Mysore. Lord William Bentinck, on whose sterling integrity he set a just value, had been driven from the Government of Madras; and Mr. Petrie, the senior member of Council, had succeeded temporarily to his place. To the manner in which the affairs of the Presidency were administered, and especially to the effect of this management on the Government of Mysore, Malcolm saw much, in all seriousness, to object.* He became desirous, therefore, to be removed to a new sphere of public utility, and he declared his wishes very unreservedly to Lord Minto:

"If the present Government," he wrote in October, "of Madras should be permanent, or if another should be formed with principles in any degree similar, I fear I should be more exposed to contest and discussion than perhaps any other person in my situation. My decided attachment to the Marquis Wellesley, my admiration of the principles of his Government, and the active share I took in the execution of many of his measures, and particularly in some which personally affected those who are now high in power at Madras, have, I am satisfied, left impressions on their minds which will not soon be eradicated.

"To these impressions as an individual I am indifferent, but their existence must prevent all kind of confidence or cordiality on either part, and may tend to aggravate discussion, and eventually give the color of personal prejudice to every effort that a sense of public duty might lead me to make to preserve from injury the interests committed to my charge. These considerations, connected with the great dislike I feel to enter into any dispute or discussion, have made me desirous (unless this Residency is placed under Bengal, or a very decided change takes place in the councils of Fort St. George) that your Lordship would place me (if an opportunity offered) in a station more directly under the Supreme Government whose immediate orders it has been my pride and good fortune to execute for eight years with uniform approbation.

* He had always urged the expediency of placing Mysore immediately under the Supreme Government.

"If your Lordship should, from what I have stated, condescend to consider my personal feelings, I should prefer being removed to Poonah (which is, I understand, likely to be soon vacant) to any other station. It is my present intention to remain two or three years longer in India, and this resolution (which the late change in my condition has led me to adopt) has in some degree altered my views. Instead of wishing that repose which, when I was on the eve of returning to Europe, I required to complete my different papers, and settle my private affairs, I am now anxious (and this anxiety has been chiefly created by your Lordship's encouraging kindness) to augment my claims to favor and distinction. I hope we shall long be exempt from the evils of war, but I am certain, if we are destined to have any further trouble from the Mahratta States, that Poonah will be the great centre of their intrigues; and I certainly should indulge a hope that my experience in the politics of the different Mahratta chiefs would enable me to fulfil the duties of Resident at Poonah at such a crisis, if it should occur in a manner that would give satisfaction to your Lordship.

"Another reason which would lead me to prefer Poonah (if I was to remove from my present station) is my perfect knowledge of the Peishwah, and my conviction that the conduct of the British interests at the Court of that Prince would be greatly facilitated from the influence which that knowledge might enable me to exercise over his mind; and in this point I should hope for success, from a conviction that I enjoy the Peishwah's confidence and regard, of which I had a most unequivocal proof last year. When Colonel Close informed him of his intention to proceed to England, he requested that officer to signify to me his earnest desire that I should be his successor.

"I have taken advantage of your Lordship's kind permission to address you with perfect freedom on a subject almost wholly personal. If the solicitation I have made to be eventually removed to Poonah should in the smallest degree interfere with the arrangement your Lordship may have made for the duties of that station on the occurrence of Colonel Close's departure, I can neither expect nor desire any attention to my wishes, the grounds of which your Lordship may not approve. My present station is no doubt both enviable and honorable, and I can assure your Lordship nothing but the considerations I have stated could have ever made me entertain a wish to leave it."

But the idea here suggested of a transfer to Poonah was soon dispersed, and in the most satisfactory manner. Colonel Close abandoned for a time his intention to return to England. Malcolm himself had urged his friend to delay his departure, and he now rejoiced that he had not pleaded in vain. With what feelings he regarded Close's resolution may be gathered from the following letter—a letter honorable alike to the writer and the recipient of it. Too little is known of the character and career of Barry Close. His own modesty stood in the way of his fame.

COLONEL MALCOLM TO COLONEL CLOSE.

Mysore, Nov. 10, 1807.

My dear Colonel,—I have received your letter of the 2nd November, and, on the public account, I rejoice most sincerely that you have resolved to stay some time longer at your post; on personal grounds I am also happy that I have no chance of being moved, as the appointment of Sir George Barlow fully does away all my apprehensions about Mysore, and with them has fled my desire of leaving this Residency.

You think the French intrigues at the Court of Persia have made a deep impression upon Lord Minto's mind, and that it is likely he has me in contemplation for employment in that quarter. Is your opinion upon this subject grounded solely upon the casual expression of his Lordship's letter to me, or have you heard or seen anything further upon it? You may suppose I am not a little anxious; but from what I have lately heard from Bengal, Lord Minto's character is more of a smooth and cautious than a bold and enterprising cast, and he will be satisfied with preserving what we have, without attempting further security, particularly if that is to be purchased by any disbursement, which he will feel in the first instance as a positive evil. If this is his character, and I have it from a deep observer, he will not send a mission to Persia unless he receives orders from England to do so, which I think is by no means improbable.

Your friends will, no doubt, be greatly disappointed, but I hope they will have the gratification of seeing the great sacrifices you

have repeatedly made of your private comfort at the shrine of your public duty rewarded in a distinguished manner; this will be but an act of common justice, and Lord Minto cannot, I should conceive, have taken the step he has done without making every endeavour to obtain it. Your delicacy, my dear Colonel, upon this point and others of a similar nature, may operate injuriously to yourself and to the service to which you belong. I would not have you refuse your services, but I would have you assert yourself, and show that you were aware of their value. Without half of your pretensions, I have done so, and every friend to whom I have spoken or written upon the subject has approved my conduct. I cannot consider it as any offence against modesty to tell a Governor-General who solicits me to remain at my post, because he thinks my knowledge and experience will promote the general success of his administration, that my views in life are directed to the enjoyment of that independent fortune which I have acquired in a long, arduous, and honorable course of public service, and that I cannot, in justice to myself and friends, abandon such a prospect of happiness and enjoyment, unless I am assured such a sacrifice will be compensated by my advancement in public life, by my receiving, in addition of rank (*i. e.* title), addition of fortune, or addition of station, what will satisfy me that I am making progress towards a specific end to which my labors are directed. If I acted otherwise, I should think I was wasting my life between two objects, that of the enjoyment of private life, or an advancement proportionate to my claims in the public service; besides, in acting in this manner, am I not pursuing the track of the most honorable and the most independent men in England? Which of them (whose circumstances are affluent) remains in the public service (unless, perhaps, on some great emergency) for one instant, except upon his own terms? And as to the praise of superiors, whether conveyed in a private or public form, men of established reputation and independent fortune would treat it (unless accompanied by something more substantial) with ridicule. Why should not the same feelings and the same rules of conduct apply to India, where the sacrifice for the public good too often includes health, and is always much greater than in England?

There are other considerations besides those of personal feeling that have always had a great sway in my mind upon this question.

That is the state of the service to which I belong, connected with the principles to be established for the preservation of this empire. The service has always been depressed, and particularly of late, owing to the great influx of King's troops, among whom there must be men of higher rank and higher interest than there are in the Company's service; but neither of these qualities, rank or interest, will give knowledge or experience, and by the latter this empire can only be kept. The Company's officers must, therefore (generally speaking), be the great instruments of its preservation; and the highest merit any officer of rank immediately from England can have, must have its origin in a liberality of sentiment and natural discernment that enables him to employ with confidence and successfully those whose local information renders them exclusively fit for the service. This remark applies from the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief down to a Lieutenant-Colonel of a new-raised corps just landed on the beach. The general objection to Company's officers filling those higher stations in India to which every other British subject is entitled to look up to, is their want of natural rank and distinction, and consequently of that support and confidence which every officer placed in stations of great responsibility should have from the Government he serves. This injury is the fruit of injustice, and they are disqualified from all hopes of attaining those stations to which they would appear, by the occupation of their whole lives, peculiarly fitted, because they have been kept from attaining that public notice and those honors to which their services were entitled by the operation of a systematic depression; and their passiveness in this state has been argued as a convincing proof of the lowness of their ambition, and their consequent unfitness for anything beyond that subordinate line of laborious drudgery for the reputation of others to which they have been hitherto destined. With hardly one exception, the highest honorable distinction that any Company's officer has attained has been the personal friendship and flattering attention of some of the distinguished characters who have within these last twelve years governed India. The feelings of the happy few who attained this enviable distinction have, no doubt, been much gratified; but is this the only species of reward by which that class of men—who must, whether in subordinate or superior stations, be the chief instruments of our rule in this country—are to be stimulated to exertion?

It has hitherto been so, but it cannot continue, if we are not lost to all wisdom and reflection; and the increased magnitude of our Indian Empire, combined with the state of Europe, must force all questions upon the serious attention of the Government in England. Under such circumstances I conceive it to be the particular duty of those officers of the Company's service who stand high to be just to themselves, to the service to which they belong, and to the interests of their country, by claiming that distinction to which they are entitled, and which would long ago have been rendered them had they served their country with half the zeal and half the success in any other quarter of the universe. Of those to whom I have alluded you are, my dear Colonel, the acknowledged head. No claims can be brought in competition with yours, and the services of no man can be of equal consequence to Government. But all the world are more sensible to your value than you are yourself, and I am convinced the most modest assertion of your just rights would give you pain. But I have tried hard to persuade you, in this hurried letter, that a manly and direct statement of those commendable and honorable views of ambition which, from all your sentiments and your whole course of life, I am sure you must entertain, would not only be a justice to yourself and to the service to which you belong, but might, in its operation, tend considerably to promote the interests of your country, by aiding, with other circumstances, to draw its most serious attention to a body of men who cannot be much longer neglected or injured without serious danger. I have fully adopted that line which I have recommended to you, and I am proud of having done so. My cause would, no doubt, receive great support from your taking the same road, but you would do it with a strength that must ensure your reaching the goal, while I, perhaps, lagged far behind.

Yours ever affectionately,

JOHN MALCOLM.

The appointment of Sir George Barlow to the Government of Madras was welcomed by Malcolm as an augury of good. "He comes like an angel of light among the heroes of Madras," he wrote to Mr. John Elliot; "and as to Mysore, no appointment could give me more confi-

dence. I know him to be pure and steadfast in his support of public principles. On these grounds, I feel relieved from all alarm, and beg to withdraw anything that looked like personal solicitation in my letter of the 8th of October. I am, of course, still ready to answer any call of the public service, and shall rejoice in every opportunity that is offered me of distinguishing myself. But, separated from that consideration, I would sooner remain at Mysore during my stay in India, than be removed to any other station."

A "call of the public service"—and a great one—was less remote than Malcolm imagined. He had overestimated the cautious policy of Lord Minto. Colonel Close, indeed, was right when he hinted that the Governor-General was thinking of another mission to Persia. Affairs, indeed, were in such a state, that it seemed very necessary that something should be done. What Malcolm thought upon the subject may be gathered from the following interesting and important letter, which forms an excellent preface to the narrative which follows; and after a lapse of nearly half a century, has a new interest in connexion with later events:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO LORD MINTO.

Mysore, Nov. 23, 1806.

My Lord,—Being fully aware of the impression upon your Lordship's mind regarding the importance of Persia in the scale of European as well as Asiatic policy, I consider no apology necessary for transmitting the enclosed memorandum, which has been drawn up by my relation Captain Pasley, who has been about four years in Persia, and has during his employment there repeatedly merited and received the approbation of Government.

I coincide fully in the opinion given by Captain Pasley in the enclosed, and am satisfied that if the war between Russia and France has terminated in a manner favorable to the interests of the latter (which from the last accounts there is reason to fear it

has), Turkey can be only considered hereafter as a province of the French Government, and under such a state of circumstances, British India will be exposed to a danger which it will require every measure of preventive policy to avert, for the nature of this danger is such, that it cannot be allowed to approach without imminent risk to the very existence of the British power in India.

I have learnt from respectable authority that almost all the provinces of Turkey are already inundated with French officers, and when the war with Russia is over, it is evident that Buonaparte can spare any number of troops to aid in the support, or rather restoration, of the tottering power of the Ottomans. The probable first employment of such a force would be the reduction to order and complete obedience of the most rebellious provinces of the empire, among which may be numbered Egypt, Syria, and Baghdad; and if that service is ever effected by the aid of a French force, we must anticipate the actual establishment of the influence and power of that nation over the countries subdued, which would give it an advanced and advantageous position from whence it could carry on intrigues and operations against the British power in India, on any scale that suited the views of the moment.

The ambassadors of Buonaparte are said to have been very successful in establishing an influence at the Court of Persia. Their success is no doubt to be chiefly attributed to the war between France and Russia, but we are not to infer the effect will cease with the cause. A jealousy of the Russians will continue to influence the conduct of the King of Persia, and the Emperor of the French, if he has not included that monarch in the treaty he is stated to have made with Russia, will discover other ways of improving a connexion through which he is known to cherish hopes of striking a blow at the power of Great Britain; and should he succeed in the establishment of the influence of the French over Turkey, he will approximate himself to the scene of his policy, which will not only enable him to choose his opportunities, but to work upon the hopes and fears of the Persian Court in a manner that must greatly facilitate, if it does not ensure, his success.

This danger, though prospective, is very serious, and I am satisfied it will require the most early and spirited measures on the part of the British Government to defeat it. The first measure that would suggest itself is the deputation of a mission to the Persian Court, but that would be of no utility unless a policy of a

very decided nature was adopted. An effort should be made, in the first instance, to prevail upon the Court of Russia to admit of the mediation of the English Government in the settlement of its disputes with Persia. In the present state of Europe it may, I think, be expected that there would be little difficulty in obtaining the assent of Russia to so equitable a proposition. It must be obvious it could be solicited from no motive but a desire of arresting the progress of France in a direction where the establishment of her power would be as dangerous to Russia as to England. Should, however, her consent be withheld, it would become a question how far it would be politic to abandon Persia to the avowed ambition of Russia, or to encounter the greater evil of allowing that State to throw itself into the arms of France to avoid subjection to Russia.

The King of Persia was very urgent with Mr. Manesty to obtain the interference of the British Government in the settlement of his dispute with Russia, and his ambassador, Abdul Nebbee Khan, repeatedly spoke to me upon the same subject at Calcutta. It may, therefore, be conjectured that it was the despair of not receiving any aid from us that led the King of Persia to a negotiation with Buonaparte. I am, indeed, perfectly convinced that, without a very strong cause, such an intercourse could not have been established. The Court of Persia is fully aware of the value of the alliance of the British Government, which, from its possessions in India, is the only European state whose friendship can be of any real use to it; that Court knows that the English have an obvious and great interest in maintaining and improving the strength of Persia, as a barrier to India. It must be fully satisfied that nation can have no objection in effecting the conquest, or even an establishment in Persia; and, on the other hand, its rulers can hardly be so blind as not to perceive that the complete subjection of their country must be the first step towards an invasion of India, by either Russia or France, as, without that preliminary measure, these nations would be at the mercy of Persia, a change in whose politics would destroy their line of communication, and cut off all hopes of retreat.

These reflections are so obvious and so forcible that they must ever give the greatest advantages to a British negotiation, and nothing but the supineness of that nation and the activity of its

enemies can subvert its influence at a Court which every motive of prudent policy must dispose to the cultivation of its friendship. Should, however, the King of Persia be ever so far deluded as to give openly and decidedly a preference to the enemies of Great Britain, that nation should, instead of having recourse to measures of fruitless conciliation, which would, undoubtedly, be mistaken for proofs of weakness, take such steps as were calculated to awaken the Persian monarch to a just sense of the importance of its friendship. The establishment of a more intimate alliance with the Pacha of Baghdad, the withdrawing of the Factory from Obushehir, the formation of a settlement on the Gulf (a point which is, under every view, of importance), and the temporary interruption of the intercourse between India and Persia, would either oblige the King of Persia to alter his policy, or throw his dominions and life into great hazard; for these measures would not only affect his reputation, but create the most serious discontent among his subjects, and that would, in all likelihood, end in revolt and rebellion.

I have shortly stated the leading reasons which would, in my opinion, be likely to influence the conduct of the Court of Persia; but, after all, it is to be remarked that the king of that country, like all barbarous and despotic monarchs, will be found to act oftener from motives of caprice and pride than of policy and judgment; and it is, perhaps, this consideration, above all others, which renders it so dangerous to leave the field of diplomacy open to our enemies. The support of our political influence in Persia must and will be attended with both trouble and expense; but what is that to the evils which it is our purpose to avert, and which, though distant, are of a magnitude that must make every reflecting man alarmed for the best interests of his country?

I remain, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's grateful servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Soon after the receipt of this letter, Lord Minto communicated to Malcolm his desire that he should proceed with as little delay as possible to the Persian Gulf.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTEMPLATED EXPEDITION TO PERSIA.

[1808—1809.]

THE PEACE OF TILSIT—THE MISSION OF SIR HARFORD JONES—MALCOLM'S DEPARTURE FOR THE GULF—STATE OF POLITICS AT TEHERAN—FAILURE OF MALCOLM'S MISSION—VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA—SECOND MISSION TO THE GULF—RECALL TO THE PRESIDENCY.

WHEN Lord Minto arrived in India a French invasion loomed in the distance. There was nothing extravagant in the apprehensions which the anticipation of this event excited in the breasts of the leading statesmen of India. The ambition of Napoleon was not staggered by the magnitude of the undertaking, and it seemed that the resources of France were equal to the accomplishment of the design. Opportunity only had been wanting, and that appeared now to have arrived. If Napoleon, by disencumbering himself of one of his most formidable European enemies, could contract the sphere of his military operations in the West, there seemed to be nothing to hinder him from commencing a career of Oriental conquest.

The peace of Tilsit converted, in an hour, the Emperor of France and the Autocrat of Russia into sworn friends and active allies. They had at least one common

bond of sympathy and interest between them. Both meditated the extension of their empire in the direction of the rich kingdoms and principalities of the East. They had scarcely laid down their arms after the bloody struggles of Eylau and Friedland, when they plunged into mighty schemes for the joint invasion of India, and the total subversion of British power in that quarter of the world. Here then was a danger to be encountered. Those were not times when statesmen could suffer themselves to fall asleep in incredulity; they had become so habituated to great and startling historical events, that nothing seemed improbable in their eyes. At all events, the peril was sufficient to keep our Indian rulers wisely on the alert, and to suggest the expediency of raising every possible barrier, in the intervening countries, to the progress of an enemy advancing from the West.

Those countries were the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia. To each Lord Minto determined to despatch a friendly mission. It is no small proof of his discernment that his choice fell on three such men as Metcalfe, Elphinstone, and Malcolm. The two first were then young, and comparatively untried men: but it seemed a mere matter of course that the last should be sent to Persia. Who had equal experience of the Persian Court—who was held in such esteem there—who had personal qualities so likely to secure success in such a conjuncture—who so conciliatory, when conciliation was required—who so vigorous, when there was need of vigor? There was more difficult work now for a Persian envoy than there had been eight years before, when Zemaun Shah was to be check-mated; a king of shreds and patches, who was check-mating himself. But Malcolm was equal to higher duties; capable of more arduous labors. For years had brought enlarged experience and a riper judgment, detracting nothing from the energy and

elasticity of his youth. What missions he had conducted in the interval—what lessons of diplomacy he had learned—what an accession of self-reliance he had gained! Was it possible that Lord Minto could think of any other man to conduct a new embassy to the Persian Court?

But there were other and higher authorities, and it *was* possible for them to ignore, or to reject, Malcolm's claims, and to think of another ambassador. Lord Minto, before leaving England, had urged those claims upon the King's Ministers and the Court of Directors; and Sir Arthur Wellesley had done the same. But they had failed. The fact is, that Malcolm, though perhaps the most popular man in India, was not popular in the regions of Leadenhall-street and Whitehall. He had the reputation of being an able, an energetic, but an unsafe man. By *unsafe* they meant *extravagant*. They believed that on his former mission to Persia he had spent a large sum of public money; and they determined now to despatch to Teheran one with less magnificent notions of the greatness of England and the dignity of an ambassador. There was a gentleman then in England ready to their hand and fit for their purpose. Mr. Harford Jones had resided for many years in a mixed political and commercial capacity on the shores of the Persian Gulf; he was not without a certain kind of cleverness, but it had never obtained for him any reputation in India, and among the Persians themselves his standing had been never such as to invest him with any prestige of authority, or to secure for him general respect. What it was that particularly recommended him to the authorities at home—except that he was in almost every respect the very reverse of Malcolm—it is difficult to say; but they made him a Baronet, and despatched him, with large powers from the Crown, as Ambassador to Persia, to

counteract the influence of the French and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. It was at first designed that he should proceed to Teheran by the way of St. Petersburg; but the peace of Tilsit necessitated the abandonment of this project, and when Lord Minto arrived in India he was altogether ignorant of the manner in which, under these altered circumstances, the representative of the Court of St. James would shape his movements in the East.

In this state of uncertainty the Governor-General believed that there was still room for Malcolm to be beneficially employed (pending the arrival of Jones at Teheran) in that part of the country which the influence of the latter would hardly reach. It was proposed, therefore, to despatch him at once to the Persian Gulf with a commission of a somewhat general and not very defined character. The French had established a very imposing embassy at Teheran, which Lord Minto described as the advanced guard of a French army, and now Malcolm was to be sent forward, in like manner, with the portfolio of the diplomatist masking the muzzles of our British guns. Lord Minto, at this time, believed that the danger was not one to be met by a mere display of diplomatic address. He thought that the services of an energetic soldier would be required, and that Malcolm, therefore, as one at home either in the camp or at the council-board, was the right man to be employed. So he wrote to him, both publicly and privately, proffering the commission—with what feelings may be gathered from the following passages in the more confidential communication of the two:

"I should not have been a week in India without proposing a similar measure, if obstacles not to be surmounted by any authority in this country had not opposed it. The intimate con-

nexion between Great Britain and Russia in Europe rendered a separate negotiation with Persia from hence too hazardous and delicate to be undertaken without express orders from home. And the orders from home were directly the contrary. It was thought an indispensable principle in the Persian mission that it should be deputed and directed from England, and that it should bear a direct representation of his Majesty. Agreeably to that system, Sir Harford Jones was actually appointed before my departure from Europe, and I had every reason to believe that he would arrive at his station before I should reach Bengal. I did not conceal my own sentiments in England concerning the *name* to be selected for that most important mission—a mission which required qualifications hardly to be found united in more than one name that I have ever heard. That name has been the subject of very clear and strong representations from me to the authorities at home since I assumed this Government. In the mean while, my own hands were effectually restrained by the two considerations already mentioned—the connexion between English and Russian politics, and the actual appointment of another person. I am now released by the separation which there is reason to apprehend between Great Britain and Russia; and by the growing necessity of the case in Asia. We have not heard of Sir Harford Jones's arrival in Persia; and, indeed, all that I yet know of his mission is, that he was ordered to repair in the first instance to St. Petersburg, in order to carry with him from thence, if it could be obtained (of which there was little prospect), the consent of that Court to the mediation of Great Britain between Russia and Persia. If there is a rupture between Russia and England, as there is much reason to suppose, I do not know by what route Sir Harford Jones can penetrate to Persia. At all events, your commission is framed in such a manner as not to clash with a diplomatic mission to the King of Persia, if you should find Sir Harford Jones at that Court. You will perceive that I have not admitted into this measure any doubt of your consent to it. Knowing as I do your public zeal and principles, and without reckoning on the knowledge you have lately afforded me of the manner in which you are affected towards this particular commission, I may safely and fairly say, that neither you nor I have any choice on this occasion. I *must* propose this service to you,

because the public interests (I might perhaps use a stronger word) indispensably require it. You *must* accept for the same reason. I am convinced that the call of public duty is the most powerful that can be made on your exertions. . . . I should have felt great personal gratification in seeing you here previous to your departure, and many advantages would undoubtedly have been derived from such an opportunity of conversing with you on many interesting points relating to your mission. It has not been without much deliberation, therefore, that I have renounced that benefit. But the service you are going upon is as pressing in point of time as it is important in its object. An alliance is actually formed with our enemy. A French embassy, which might properly be called the advance guard of a French army, is already arrived; and the approach of such an army, if not certain, must, however, be considered a part of the case on which our measures must be founded. Every week during which these proceedings continue to operate undisturbed and unopposed must evidently increase extremely the difficulty of counteracting them; and the delay which was unavoidable in adopting our present measure can only be compensated by the most immediate and prompt execution of it. . . . You cannot, therefore, depart too immediately for Bombay."—[*January* 31, 1808.]

It need not be said that Malcolm at once accepted the commission, and prepared, with his accustomed promptitude, to enter upon its duties. "I hope," he wrote in reply to the above letter, "from the kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, to be at Bombay in the first week of March, and as I shall not lose a moment at that Presidency, I may expect to reach Bushire about the 15th of April; and I have made arrangements that will enable me, if it should be necessary, to proceed to the Court of Persia in a month after I reach that country."*

* In this letter Malcolm writes: "Sir George Barlow, for whose great kindness and attention to my wishes on this occasion and on all others I feel greatly indebted, will mention to your Lordship an idea which struck both him and me, relative to my having a higher nominal rank for the purpose of public impression in Persia." In pursuance of this recommendation, Malcolm was gazetted as Brigadier-General.

This was written on the 15th of February, from Madras. On the 17th, Malcolm embarked on board the *Culloden*, accompanied by his wife, for Bombay. The "other members of his family" were Captain James Grant, Captain Charles Pasley, and Lieutenants Little and Stewart. He had scarcely embarked, when intelligence reached him which made him look doubtingly on the prospects before him. Sir Harford Jones, who was to have proceeded, as I have said, by the way of Russia to the Persian Court, was now bound for Bombay, with the intention of proceeding thence to the Gulf. There was a prospect, therefore, of the two envoys coming into personal as well as political collision; and it appeared to Malcolm not improbable that he would be compelled to retire from the scene.

During the voyage he wrote a long letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which much is said about the general state of India, and much about the particular mission on which he was then proceeding—a mission which, as he said, invested him with the fullest powers, and made him a kind of agent-general or superintendent of all the Company's affairs in the Gulf, with instructions to proceed eventually to Teheran or Baghdad. In this letter he speaks, in emphatic language, of the danger likely to result from the despatch of Sir Harford Jones from England, and then proceeds to state the course which he had marked out for himself:

"Anything," he wrote, "like a mission to the Persian Court, before that State had made both advances and concessions after its late conduct, would be highly impolitic; and it was my intention (of which Lord Minto approved) to have insisted, as a preliminary to my journey to that Court, on their abandoning the course they had adopted, to obtain which object I should no doubt have tried every other means of negotiation; but from a knowledge of the character of the king and his ministers, I should have reserved the embassy on

which I was empowered to proceed till I had made them pay some attention to those demands which offended friendship had a right to make. Nor should I have hesitated, if their conduct had called for it, to adopt measures that would have made them sensible that we possessed as ample means of revenging injury as of rewarding attachment. Such a line of conduct would soon, I think, have placed me upon grounds from which I could have conciliated with dignity, and therefore with effect. And at all events that impression of our power and spirit, which it is of such consequence to our interests to maintain, would have been improved and strengthened.* But if we are to run (after the late conduct of Persia) to the feet of the monarch of that country, and try in an humble manner to wheedle ourselves into his good graces, and by some low bows, some gewgaws, and some soothing speeches to conciliate his favor, we shall not only fail in our immediate object, but destroy the character for spirit and power which we have established. The Persians, if it should not occur to their own minds (which it readily would), would soon be persuaded by their French friends that the anxiety and humility with which we sought their friendship was a proof of our terror and weakness, and that they had little to fear from hostility with a power that crouched at the very apprehension of hostilities."

After speaking of the character of Sir Harford Jones, and the circumstances under which Malcolm himself had been invited, without any solicitation upon his part, to proceed to Persia, he goes on to speak of the danger which seemed to him to threaten our Indian Empire, and again urges upon Sir Arthur Wellesley the expediency of turning his face a second time towards the East:

"A report has reached India that the French have actually sent a large force to Constantinople. This I do not believe to be authentic; but that they may do so is, I think, very probable.

* Malcolm here writes as if the occasion had passed—but at this time it belonged to the future; and he subsequently acted in the manner described. The truth is, that he believed the movements of Sir Harford Jones would prevent his proceeding further than Bombay.

The most serious alarm, however, which my mind admits upon this point, is the possibility of an understanding between France and Russia connected with a scheme for the latter either aiding or acting as a principal in an attack upon our Eastern possessions. This, though very unlikely, is not impossible. Buonaparte can offer great temptations to Russia; and he is of a character likely to make any sacrifices and every effort to obtain so vast an object. The attempts of France against us in India must be full of hazard, unless they are gradual. The distance of the march, the little dependence which can be placed on the inhabitants of the countries through which her armies must pass, and their want of resources (particularly in provisions), are all great obstacles. But the empire of Russia is up to the point, and she is in possession of territory within five hundred miles of the Tigris, where it is navigable, and bordering upon the north-western parts of the kingdom of Persia. If such attempts should be made or threatened, there is not a moment to lose in taking every measure of preventive policy. Half means will lose India. The western side of India must be strengthened; one of our ablest officers must combine the military and civil powers at Bombay; and we must make ourselves strong in the Persian Gulf, that we may be able to support friends and punish enemies, and inspire those sentiments of hope and fear which must be felt by all the States in that quarter, before we can expect to establish any relations with them that will be really beneficial to our interests. If this change is made, I hope they will be able, by promises of still greater advancement, to prevail upon you to take temporary charge of Bombay; and in that event, though in no other, I should rejoice to be kept in the Gulf, as I should, in acting under you on so conspicuous an occasion, anticipate the attainment of every honor and distinction.

"We have had a report of an expedition under Bergeret having left France with troops to be landed in the Persian Gulf. To this I attach no credit whatever. Troops so landed (even supposing them to reach their place of destination) could do nothing. They would be destitute of every means of success; and the Government of Persia (even if it were ripe for such a combination) has not efficiency or vigor to furnish them with resources they most require. The naval part of the expedition would inevitably fail. Bergeret, however able, would bend, as he had done before, to the

superior genius of his conqueror, Sir Edward Pellew, whose character I have lately had an opportunity of viewing very nearly, and whom I sincerely believe to be one of the first men we have. It has been stated that he is likely to go home soon, which I anxiously hope is not the case, for there is no calculating in such times the value of an able and high-spirited naval commander in India, whose zeal and patriotism lead him to despise all petty questions, and to look to nothing but the general interests of his country."*

In the first week of April, Malcolm reached Bombay. Of his brief residence there there is not much to be recorded. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh—an acquaintance which soon ripened into a lasting friendship. In the politics of Turkey and Persia the Recorder took a deep interest. Public and private considerations alike at that time invested them in his eyes with uncommon importance.† It pleased him, therefore, to converse with Malcolm on the subject, and to increase his stock of information from the prodigious stores which the Ambassador was delighted to unlock. Mackintosh saw in him a man of strong natural intelligence, and great literary enthusiasm, which wanted only opportunity to secure for him a forward place among the authors, as he had already obtained among the actors, of the day. But, even more than these clerkly attributes, the scholar admired the frank open character and the ardent temperament of the soldier. He saw in Malcolm a genuine man, whose heartiness and sincerity were wonderfully refreshing

* Bergeret, the French admiral, fought Pellew (afterwards Lord Exmouth) off the Lizard in 1796, and was compelled, after a gallant resistance, to strike his colors to the English frigate. He was taken prisoner; but subsequently released as a set-off to the escape of Sir Sydney Smith. Afterwards (in 1805) he was again captured, after another hard-fought action in the Eastern seas, and carried to Calcutta. The vessel which he commanded on this occasion was the *Psyché*, which became a prize, and was destined to convey Malcolm from Bombay to Bushire. Admiral Bergeret is, I believe, still (1855) living.

† Sir James Mackintosh's son-in-law, Mr. Rich, was then Resident at Baghdad.

amidst so much exhaustion and inanity. Even the vehemence with which the Envoy denounced the conduct of the Home Government in despatching Sir Harford Jones to Persia, and criticised the character of that diplomatist, had a fine flavor about it which Mackintosh knew how to relish; and he soon became as much of a partisan—as much of a Malcolmite—as any member of the General's staff. It is worthy of mention, too, that in the ladies of the Recorder's family Malcolm secured good and true friends for his young wife, eager to extend, when most she needed it, sisterly kindness and womanly solace, in the trying situation in which she was about to be placed.

Here, too, Malcolm received his instructions,* and at the same time a long private letter from Lord Minto, in which the views of the Governor-General were confidentially communicated to him. It clearly exhibits what was then conceived to be the magnitude of the crisis, the great work that was entrusted to Malcolm, and the full faith which Government reposed in the vigor and the judgment of the workman:

LORD MINTO TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL MALCOLM.

March 9, 1808.— . . . . . You will receive along with this a paper, which it was necessary to call instructions. I can only say that I should have sent them with more confidence if they had been drawn, as is often the case, by him to whom they are addressed. All I should desire, on the present occasion, is that you should carry to the scene of action the suggestions of your own judgment, experience, and public zeal. . . . . You may depend

* These instructions are thus generally stated by Malcolm in an official letter: "I was, under my original instructions, vested with general powers of control over all the British interests and concerns in Persia and Turkish Arabia; but though accredited as an envoy from your Lordship by specific credentials to both the King of Persia and Pacha of Baghdad, I imagined that you had contemplated my proceeding to either of these Courts not only as an eventual, but as one of the collateral, not the primary objects of my mission, which were, I conceived, to discover and report for your information, at the earliest possible period, the real situation of affairs as connected with our European enemies in Persia and Eastern Turkey."

upon every sort and degree of support which my situation can furnish, and you may be assured that the importance of your commission and of every point in your proceedings cannot be felt more forcibly even by yourself on the spot than it will be by me. In my view of these transactions our opposition to France in Persia is the anchor on which our hopes must rest; for if we permit that country to be the depôt of her preparations against us, and wait at home till the enemy thinks himself that he is equal to the undertaking, we shall give him a great and, as it appears to me, a most manifest advantage. My first anxiety, therefore, will be to know from you whether the disposition of the Persian Court or the state of our country admit of our meeting the enemy on the very moment of his arrival or approach to the Persian frontier. I am aware that this system will require a very considerable force. I shall learn from you what its amount must be; and shall, in the mean while, make every effort which the state of our resources admits of to be prepared with an army and the means of transporting it. In the mean while, I have imagined that a force of 20,000 or 25,000 men may be necessary. This will be a great exertion, and I don't think that we can go further. I should be glad to find that less would be sufficient. This supposes, as you perceive, the march of a considerable body of French troops to Persia. If 10,000 are to come, I conceive that our force, which must consist of Sepoys in a great proportion, should be double. But on these points it is loss of time to speculate and conjecture at present, and I expect information and advice from you. It has also occurred to me that some measures of less magnitude on the part of France may render an expedition on a smaller scale advisable from India. If, instead of sending such an army as has been announced, they should begin by collecting gradually a small force capable of establishing a French post on the coast, and endeavour to take root there before the grand design is entered upon, I think it of the utmost moment to disappoint this preparatory measure, and to expel the enemy with the least possible delay. We shall be prepared to push off 4000 or 5000 men on the first summons. I own I have all along felt the possibility that it might have been expedient to accompany you with such a force, partly for emergencies such as I have described, or others that may be imagined, and more generally to give weight to your mission. But I have refrained from proposing this measure because it might

undoubtedly have excited jealousy in those countries, and have embarrassed instead of supporting you. That is one of the points, however, on which I shall look for your earliest advice.

I am so desirous, however, of strengthening your hands, and making suitable impression on the minds of those to whom you are going, that I incline extremely to any augmentation of your escort which you may yourself think prudent and advisable. It must not be so considerable as to lose the character of an escort; but it may be greater than is absolutely necessary for attendance on your person, so that part might, if necessary, be left at any station of the fleet. I have thought, also, that it might be desirable, on the same principle, to embark as many men, under the name of *Marines*, on board the King's ships and the Company's cruisers destined for the Gulf as can be accommodated on board. A force very superior to anything French actually in that country will thus be collected at little expense, and may very much retard, if they do not frustrate, the first projects of the enemy. I have mentioned these notions to Sir Edward Pellew, and shall, of course, explain myself fully and unreservedly on all points to Mr. Duncan; and whatever you three determine will be right.

Sir Harford Jones is, I confess, rather a *Marplot* (since I am writing confidentially) in our play. I have great confidence, however, in two of your qualities, and I hardly know which is most necessary on this occasion—I mean your conciliatory talents and your magnanimity. The first will, no doubt, find exercise in your intercourse with Sir Harford Jones, and the other will have full scope for exertion in dealing with yourself. But as to the latter point, I have no apprehension; for although I do cordially lament all the public embarrassment and all the personal discomforts which may reasonably be expected from this unlucky *coincidence*, I am sure that every sort of personal feeling will merge in the sense which you share with me of the great duties you have undertaken. I do not recollect or imagine any service that can be rendered to a country more signal than that which Great Britain will owe to you if this design against India is defeated in Persia.

There was good encouragement in this. Malcolm now felt assured that he would be well supported, and

that he enjoyed the boundless confidence of the Government. The suggestions, too, regarding the military force squared with his own wishes, and he had very soon shipped such a serviceable body of "Marines" as, in conjunction with his own escort, might, if need required, make an imposing display of force. Everything was soon ready for his departure. On the 15th of April he wrote to Lord Minto to report that he was on the eve of embarkation:

"The *Doris* frigate sailed for the Gulf yesterday, and the Honorable Company's ship *Wexford*, with my baggage, tents, and escort on board, will either accompany or follow the *Psyche* (on which I embark). On the arrival of this little fleet at Bushire, I shall be able to command, if required, the services of three hundred men of the 84th Regiment (serving as Marines), independent of my escort, which has been completed to one hundred cavalry and fifty Sepoys; and to this force will soon be added a detail of European artillery, with two six-pounders, that are to embark on board one of the line-of-battle ships which are meant by Sir Edward Pellew to proceed to the Gulf about the 15th of next month. This force (which has been formed in consistence with your Lordship's instructions) will, without having any appearance of a military expedition, enable me to defeat any small detachment which may be landed from the Mauritius—an event, however improbable, it appears prudent to guard against. It will also afford me the means of defending myself against any possible attack, and put it in my power, should circumstances require it, to give temporary aid and protection to any party that, in the event of affairs coming suddenly to an extremity, may adopt our cause. If accounts should be received at Bombay before the season has passed that any French or Russian force (that is, supposing we are at war with Russia) have actually approached or entered the territories of Persia, it will, no doubt, be advisable to hasten the embarkation for the Gulf of as many troops as can be spared for that service; but if no such intelligence arrives, it would not, I think, be wise to precipitate such a measure, or to embark more men than can go as Marines. Such cannot excite alarm."

In this letter Malcolm spoke also of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue after his arrival at Bushire:

"I mean," he said, "to withhold my mission to the Court of Persia till such concessions are made as I may conceive from the state of circumstances I have a right to demand; and my language, instead of solicitation, will be that of temperate remonstrance and offended friendship. To pursue a different course of conduct would, in the present crisis, I am assured, have the worst effect. It would strengthen the exaggerated idea which the Persian Court already entertain of their own greatness, and persuade them of our weakness and fears; and they would, under these impressions, continue, without being aware of the extent of the danger, to encourage both us and the French, and, attending only to the dictates of pride and avarice, would forget every maxim of sound policy, to a consideration of which they can only be roused by our adopting a line which will force them to the choice either of our friendship or that of the French; and, as far as I can judge, the sooner this question is brought to an issue the better."

On the 17th of April, Malcolm found himself again on board ship; again on his way to the Persian Gulf. He started with a heavy heart. There were pangs then new to him—the pangs of separation from a beloved wife. There were circumstances, too, which rendered it doubly painful; for he was about soon to be invested with a new relationship, the thought of which, whilst it filled him with delightful anticipations, at the same time dashed them with affectionate anxiety. But he braced himself up for the work before him with a brave heart and a resolute will. There was now a new stimulus to honorable exertion: his ambition was made of less stern stuff than before. The public servant yielded nothing to the lover and the husband; but the one condition refined and dignified the other. It has often been debated whether the domestic relations unfit men for the public

service. Little men perhaps they may; great men assuredly they do not. Hear what Malcolm wrote to his wife as he was voyaging down to the Gulf:

On board the "Psyche," at Sea, April, 1808.—I go with a heart full of many passions—but love is the predominant one. I can think of nothing but you. But I shall bring my mind to connect your happiness, which is the chief object of my life, with my success in the service of my country, and my exertions shall be a hundredfold in hope of being more worthy of the great blessing which Providence has decreed me.

I cannot explain my feelings on this voyage. Everything that good living, good accommodation, and good humor can do to make me happy is done . . . . . and yet I feel—what I never did before—that I have left a home, and that in that magic word is concentrated all my happiness. Do not, however, think that these feelings will ever sink me into a state that will in any way unfit me for the public service. I feel a conscious pride that in possessing you, I possess the most powerful motive that man can have to honorable action. . . . . You will be both proud and happy to hear that I am the theme of others' praise; and you may tell your children that their father was never so animated or so rejoiced as when he had an opportunity of serving his country, and that when engaged in such a cause he could suffer even absence from you. I feel at the moment I write that I shall succeed in my efforts, and that I shall return to you crowned with success. May God hasten the moment!

On the 30th of April the *Psyche* was off Muscat, where, under Malcolm's instructions, she lay to for a few hours. The Imaum, whose acquaintance he had made eight years before, was dead—killed like a brave man in battle—and his son, of whom so much notice had been taken, was now ruling in his place. The promise of his youth, however, had not been fulfilled. But Malcolm was pleased to find that he was held in grateful remembrance by his old Arab friends. There is some-

thing very pleasant in the record of them to be found in his private journal:

"The young Imaum sent me a thousand civil messages with a quantity of fruit, and expressed great regret that I could not land, as he would, he said, have been delighted to see his father's friend, and one who had taken great notice of him as a boy. I had seen him about eight years ago, and given him the model of a 74-gun ship as a present. He was then about ten or eleven years of age, and gave promise of good temper and intelligence; but this promise has not, I understand, been fulfilled. The message from the Imaum was brought by one of his most confidential officers, Mahomed Gholam, a very old acquaintance of mine. He was, indeed, sent with me when on my former mission from Muscat to Abushire, as an agent of the Imaum's, and to aid us in the navigation of the Gulf. This Arab, who combines with the manners of his tribe the frankness of a sailor, expressed great joy at meeting his old friend. He shook Pasley most heartily by the hand, and inquired after Strachey and several of our former party. 'You have been all over the world,' says he to me, 'since I last saw you.' 'I have travelled a little,' I answered. 'Travelled a little!' he exclaimed, 'you have done nothing else; we heard you were with the great Lord Wellesley at Calcutta. When there in a ship of the Imaum's, I went to see you: Malcolm Sahib was gone to Madras. Two years afterwards I went again to Bengal and thought I would find my friend: no, Malcolm Sahib was gone to Scindiah, and we heard afterwards you went with Lord Lake to Lahore. However, four months ago, we heard you had come to Seringapatam and married a fine young girl, the daughter of some Colonel. And now,' says he, 'after travelling all the world over, and then marrying, you are come again to your old friends the Arabs and Persians.' I told my friend Mahomed Gholam I was quite flattered with the interest he appeared to have taken in my welfare, and rejoiced to see him in such health and spirits, and enjoying the favor of his Prince. I then reminded him of some former scenes, particularly one in which he had been much alarmed at the conduct of one of the gentlemen with me. He laughed, and said he was glad I recollected old times and old friends, and that I would find, as I

proceeded, that all those I had before seen perfectly remembered me. He then begged me to take some letters for him to Bushire, and began writing a postscript to one of them. I saw him smiling, and asked him to tell me (like an honest Arab) what he was writing, as I was sure it was about me. 'I will tell you without hesitation,' said he, 'for why need I be ashamed of the truth? I knew my friends would expect some account of you, and I could not give it till I saw you. I have informed them that this is exactly the same Malcolm we had before, the only difference is, that he was then a Captain, and is now a General.' I was not a little pleased with this compliment on my consistency of character from my Arab friend, who took his leave at eight o'clock at night, and we immediately weighed our anchor and stood for the Gulf."

On the 10th of May the *Psyche* reached Bushire. Malcolm's reception was all that he could desire. He wrote in good spirits to his wife of present appearances and future prospects:*

Bushire, May 17, 1808.—I can give no public news yet. I have been welcomed ashore in a manner the most flattering, and found letters from many old friends waiting my arrival, and among them some very high in power. The Governor of this place came six miles off to pay me a visit on board, and has, like all others, paid me great attention on shore. This is done by orders from Court, where I have reason to believe the accounts of my arrival have been received with great joy. Pasley, accompanied by Mr. Bruce and my moonshee, starts for Teheran on the day after to-morrow, with my letter to the King, and I expect that he will reach Teheran about the 20th of June; and I expect to know what my fate is likely to be about the 15th of July. How I pray God that I may be borne on a full tide of success to the accomplishment of the objects of my mission, and that I may return crowned with success to the arms where all my happiness centres!

* His private letters to his different official friends were written in the same hopeful language; but I make my extracts, where I can, from his family letters—because, although all his undress communications have the same spontaneous truthful character, these have also the impress of the warm heart upon them, and exhibit both the husband and the man.

Bushire, June 6.—I have been living hitherto with Smith, but move into Camp to-morrow. We have pitched our tents on the sea-side, where it is as yet tolerably cool. I have erected a shed made from the branches of the date-tree, which will, they say, be cooler than either house or tent. Our party ashore is large and very pleasant. Smith is a first-rate fellow.* Captain Cole† is a plain, respectable character, with whom I become every day more pleased. Edgecumbe‡ never changes. We have, in short, none in our society who are not agreeable. All are in good health, and likely to continue so, for we live moderately. Our amusements are telling stories, riding, and occasionally hunting.§ Charles Pasley is gone to Teheran on a mission, in which, if he succeeds, he will gain great credit. He is at Shiraz, and conducting himself admirably.

June 10.—I am over head and ears in Persian intrigues. It is an extraordinary scene, and it is impossible to tell what will be the result. But you shall never blush for your husband. He will come out of it with honor, if he should even fail of success.

And he *did* "fail of success." He failed utterly—but honorably. How he purposed to proceed has been shown in his own emphatic language. He adhered to his resolution. But the French were too strong for him at the Persian Court. Persia was at this time writhing in the

* Mr. Hanky Smith, of the Company's Civil Service, who was afterwards despatched as our envoy to Sindh. He was the son of Charlotte Smith, the poetess—a lady of some repute in her day.

† Captain of the *Doris*.

‡ Captain of the *Psyche*.

§ It is worthy of mention, too, that Malcolm paraded his "Marines" to the great wonder of the inhabitants. The record in his journal is amusing: "My escort was composed of fifty fine-looking fellows of the light infantry of the 84th Regiment, who excited the greatest astonishment in the Arabs and Persians. They were the first British soldiers that had ever been landed, and their appearance was calculated to make the most favorable impression of our countrymen. 'What amazing strong fellows these flesh-eaters are,' said a poor Arab, who had never seen anything but dates and fish. 'Look at their resemblance to each other; they must all have the same father and mother.' 'That cannot be,' said another (equally struck with their uniformity of appearance), 'for they must have been all born the same day.' 'They are proper shytans' (devils), said an old woman, 'I warrant them.' These and a thousand remarks of the same description were made upon the soldiers, who, in their turn, were highly entertained by the curiosity and appearance of those they had so much astonished."

iron grasp of the Muscovite usurper. The French Embassy were full of mighty promises. They deluded the Court of Teheran into the belief that it was only by the intercession of France that Russia could be induced to relax her grasp. A little while before they had told a different story. It had been their policy then to impress upon the minds of the Persians that the tide of Russian usurpation could only be effectually checked by a powerful enemy of the great Northern aggressor. But now that was to be done by friendly intercession which before was to have been done by force; and the Court of Teheran, for a while deluded by these plausible promises, clung to the French alliance as to their best hope of extrication from the toils that environed them. So our enemies were supreme at the Persian capital. Their diplomatists, their soldiers, their men of science were all energetically at work. Whilst we had been sleeping they had been striving. We had left the field of action clear for them, and they had occupied it with vigor and address.

Malcolm had not estimated aright the extent of this occupation. He had relied too much on the influence we had established eight years before at the Persian Court, and had not sufficiently taken into account the alteration of circumstance and feeling resulting from the progress of Russian arms in that momentous interval. The Persians believed that we had deserted them. We had, at all events, looked unconcernedly on, or purposely turned our backs upon them, whilst they had been spoliated by the Northern conqueror. What, they asked, had become of our alliance with them? What had we done for them? Who were we that we should now expect a single word from us to dissolve a promising alliance and to disperse a magnificent embassy, strong in all those external attributes best calculated to rivet the confidence of the Per-

sians in the military strength and national greatness of their energetic allies?

I have always thought, therefore, that Malcolm erred in assuming too dictatorial a tone at the outset, and precipitating a crisis which it would have been sounder policy to delay. But the error is one which we may well afford to respect. "You are a man of frank character and high spirit," wrote Sir James Mackintosh to him, on learning the course he had adopted, "accustomed to represent a successful and triumphant Government. You must, from nature and habit, be averse to temporise. But you have much too powerful an understanding to need to be told that to temporise is sometimes absolutely necessary, and that men of your character only can temporise with effect." The truth, however, is, that Malcolm believed there was only one course before him by which the dignity of the nation could be upheld. But that course, though in theory it had everything to recommend it, was, in practice, certain to fail of success.

Malcolm said afterwards that the language of dictation which he had used had nothing to do with the failure of the Mission. The Court of Teheran had determined upon their line of conduct before they knew in what manner the English Embassy was about to approach them. The French, with their large promises, had at this time possession of the courtier-mind of Persia, and the Persian Ministers were terrified at the thought of the approach of the British Mission marring all their prospects of assistance from the expected quarter. When, therefore, Captain Pasley reached Shiraz, his further progress towards the capital was peremptorily forbidden, and Malcolm himself was directed to communicate with the Provincial Viceroy. What Malcolm felt on receiving this intelligence, what he determined, and what

he did, will be best told in the words of his own private journal:

"*Camp, 11th June.*—From the letters I received this day from Captain Pasley, at Shiraz, I was concerned to observe the Ministers there not only continued to throw obstacles in the way of his progress to Teheran, but declared they had orders from the King directing me to carry on my negotiations with the Prince-Regent of the province of Fars, and they had heard, without being moved from their purpose, all those reasons which Captain Pasley had in the most firm and spirited manner urged to satisfy them. I would never consent to an arrangement of so humiliating a nature towards myself and the Government I represented as one which allowed a French Embassy to remain in the Presence while it directed one from the English nation to treat with an inferior Government. I also learned that one or two parties of troops were likely to assemble at Bushire with an apparent design of watching my conduct, and to sum up the whole, the Sheikh of Bushire stopped the embarkation of three horses on board the *Wexford*, belonging to the captain and officers of that ship, on the ridiculous and insulting plea of the *Wexford* being on the point of sailing for Karrack,* and his having been particularly instructed to take care of that island.

"These circumstances convinced me that nothing short of the adoption of some very strong measure would produce a change in the conduct of a Court which was evidently acting under the influence of our enemies, and it appeared particularly necessary that measure should be of a nature that would remove an impression which the French had endeavoured to produce in Persia, viz., that England had not an ally in the world, was reduced to the last stage of distress, and consequently was soliciting the friendship of the King of Persia from an inability to preserve without his aid its possessions in India. I determined, in consequence of these reflections, to strike my camp next morning and to go on board the *Doris*, and write to Captain Pasley to inform the Ministers of the Prince at Shiraz why I have done so, informing them that I never should re-land in Persia unless he was allowed

* A small island within thirty-three miles of Bushire.—J. M.

to proceed to Court, and I was assured of being treated with less suspicion and more friendship.

"12*th June*.—I carried the resolution I made yesterday into effect, to the utter consternation of the inhabitants of Bushire. The Sheikh (who I heard was ashamed of his conduct) had proceeded to the country to meet one of the chiefs, reported to be on his march to Bushire, but all the merchants and principal inhabitants came to my camp at six o'clock in the morning, and earnestly entreated me to stay a few days longer on shore, till answers to the letters they meant that day to write to Shiraz were received. When they found I was inflexible, one of the oldest and most respectable, Hajee Ismael, spoke for the rest in a manner at once affecting and elegant. 'We are ruined,' he said, 'and our children must be so also, by the policy that forces a man who is personally beloved by all ranks in Persia to embark in anger. The conduct of our Government to him will bring upon us the resentment of the nation he represents; the commerce of Persia will be destroyed, and our monarch and his wise Ministers, who think little of it at present, will only discover, by the loss of the principal part of the revenue of the country, the source from which it was derived.' This fine old man (he is upwards of eighty) spoke much more to the same effect. I am ashamed even to repeat to you the panegyrics with which he loaded me. He concluded a prayer for an alteration in the councils of his King in a voice choked with tears. The feelings of the rest were equally agitated with those of Hajee Ismael, to all whose observations they assented. Though I could not help commiserating these men, whose hopes of future prosperity all depend upon the result of this negotiation (as a rupture with England must destroy the commerce of Persia, and ruin them), I could not help being pleased with the strong emotions they testified, as I was satisfied they would write in the strongest manner to all quarters, and that their influence would be given in support of my wishes.

"I embarked in the evening, and was attended to the beach by all the gentlemen of my family, and my Persian servants, whose grave countenances gave this procession quite a solemn appearance. I had ordered them all to be discharged, and they went away cursing the French, the Sheikh of Bushire, the Prince at Shiraz, the King, and every person that they thought had, either in a remote or proximate degree, caused my departure."

On the same day he wrote also a hasty letter to his wife, in which he said:

"*July* 12.—I have determined to proceed to Fort William and sail for that place to-day. The resolution to pass Bombay, believe me, was not taken without pain; but my duty called for the sacrifice, and you will be pleased that I had virtue and firmness enough to make it. I hope to be at Calcutta about the 1st of September. I shall leave it for Bombay about the 1st of October, and arrive with my dearest Charlotte about the 10th of November. How long I stay there is a speculation; but, believe me, the present step is the only one I could take to enable me to do justice to the great interests committed to my charge. These, by the blessing of God, will yet prosper; and I shall have the credit, if the victory is won, of having not been sparing of exertion. A month with Lord Minto will do wonders."

So Malcolm took ship for Calcutta, and as he sailed up the Persian Gulf solaced himself with the *Mysteries of Udolpho* and with aspiring thoughts of the day, when it would be permitted to him to float again, with a prosperous gale, on the Sinus Arabicus, and establish himself, under his country's ensign, as lord of a fortified island, and arbiter of the destinies of Persia and Arabia. It has been seen how anxious he was, on his first mission to the Persian Court, to obtain for the British Government a settlement on the island of Karrack. He had never ceased to think that our interests would be greatly advanced by the occupation of such a post, and he was now more than ever anxious to urge the measure upon the attention of Lord Minto and his colleagues. As he was now off the island on his way back to India, he paused there to take in water, and again cast a longing eye on the place. The following entries in his journal show how high a value he set upon the possession of the island, and how high a value the people of the Gulf set upon him:

"We sailed this morning for Karrack to get water for the voyage. As we were nearing the island I fell into conversation with a confidential servant of the Sheikh of Bushire, who had been sent to facilitate our getting water at Karrack. This poor fellow became quite eloquent at the idea of my going to India, which he had just heard. It foreboded, he said, ruin to his country. He then abused the King, the Prince, and his master the Sheikh, who was, he said, a weak young man, who was ruled by some vile Persian advisers. 'He has now,' said the Arab, 'put the seal to his folly by disgusting you with his unworthy suspicions.' He then launched out into a grand account of my last mission, which he graced, in the true Arab style, with personal anecdotes. Nothing could be more entertaining than for a man to listen to anecdotes of himself, particularly when these were partly true, partly accidental speeches and occurrences which had been framed into regular stories, and had reached in that shape the lowest classes. To give you a short specimen of the Arab's conversation: 'Do they keep a parcel of vile French rascals,' said he, in a rage, 'while they send away a man of whose wisdom and munificence children speak as well as fellows with white beards? Have they forgot what you did at Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran? When Abdul Hamud, that half merchant, half minister, came to Bushire, deputed from Shiraz to find out by his wonderful penetration the objects of your mission, did you not closet him, make him swear secrecy, and then tell him that in the times of the Suffavee Kings the Persians had no beards, but the English had; that the latter had since lost that fine ornament to the face, and that as it was rumored the Persians had found it, you were deputed to try and recover your right? That Hamud said he became a laughing-stock all over Persia when the manner in which you treated him was made public. And at Shiraz, when that sly Persian Minister, Chiragh Aly Khan, asked you what your business was at Court, you replied that, if you told him, you should have nothing to say to his master, the King. At Ispahan,' continued the Arab, 'Mahomed Hussein Khan,* the Governor, who was the richest man in Persia, came to see you, and with a view of dazzling you, he wore a kubah, or upper garment, made of the celebrated zerbaff, or golden cloth,

* The present Prime Minister.—J. M.

which is only worked in one loom in Persia. He found you dressed quite plain; but next day you went out a hunting, and it was reported to him that one of your favorite greyhounds was clothed in a cloth of the same stuff. The fellow,' said he, 'has worn a plain chintz jacket ever since he received this rebuke. When you went one day to see the King, he put on all his richest jewels to excite your wonder. You looked him in the face, and you looked at his sword; but your eyes never once wandered to his fine diamonds. He was disappointed, and told Hadjee Ibrahim to ask you, as you retired, if you had not noticed them? The Hadjee returned to the Presence and was silent. The King was angry, and said, "Repeat what Malcolm Sahib said." The Hadjee hesitated, till the King grew impatient. He then said, "Please your Majesty, when I asked Captain Malcolm what he thought of your diamonds, 'Nothing,' he said; 'what use are diamonds except as ornaments for women? I saw the King's face, Captain Malcolm told me, with pleasure; it is the countenance of a man. And I admire his fine scymetar: steel is the lord of jewels.'" The King,' said the talkative Arab, 'though he was disappointed, could not help admiring such sentiments.'

"All the Arab's stories are pretty near the truth. The dog's fine jewelled cloth I recollect. It was made out of a dress of honor I had received, and put on to please my head huntsman, who used to lead this favorite greyhound himself; but God knows it was not meant to ridicule the magnificence of the Governor of Ispahan, from whom I received a thousand civilities.

"*H.M. ship 'Doris,' near Karrack, 8th July.*—The more I contemplate this island, the more I am satisfied it might be made one of the most prosperous settlements in Asia, situated within a few 'hours' sail of Bushire, Bunder Begh, Bussorah, Græne, Baherin, and Catiff. It would, if under a just and powerful Government, be the common resort of the merchants of Turkey, Arabia, and Persia, and though too small (only twelve square miles) to support a number of inhabitants, it would, when it became an emporium of commerce, become a granary also, and want would be unknown. The chief recommendations of this island are its fine climate and excellent water. It has no harbor; but a vessel has protection from the prevalent gales in the Gulf under either its south-east or north-west side, and they can shift their berth in the hardest gales without danger. I could not contemplate this

island without thinking it far from improbable that the English Government might be obliged, by the progress of its enemies in this quarter, to take possession of it, and my mind passed rapidly from that idea to the contemplation of myself as the chief instrument in the execution of this plan. I saw this almost desolate island filled with inhabitants, whose prosperity and happiness was my charge, and who repaid all my labors by their gratitude and attachment; but what most delighted me in this picture was the figure of Charlotte smiling graciously upon me from a window of one of the most stately castles that my fancy had erected on the shores of Karrack. More improbable dreams have been realised, and there can be no harm in indulging the imagination in the contemplation of a scheme which has its foundation in the most virtuous and justifiable ambition; which seeks not to destroy, but to establish; not to invade security, but to give repose; not to attack, but to defend; and instead of spreading the evils of war, wishes only to erect a bulwark to stop its ravages."

In one of the letters already quoted, alluding to the expected birth of his child, Malcolm emphatically exclaimed, "Good God, what a state of torturing suspense I am in! But I trust I shall soon be relieved from all my fears; and then my joy will be excessive." Not many days afterwards the long expected intelligence gladdened his heart. They met a vessel from Bombay at the mouth of the Gulf, and Malcolm received a parcel of letters. "How inadequate are words to express," he wrote afterwards from Point de Galle, "what I felt to hear of your safety and of the birth of a dear child, and how infinitely was my joy increased by the accounts you gave me of yourself and our little *Margaret*.* God bless you for

* In Malcolm's private journal there is a more detailed account of the circumstances attending the reception of this most interesting intelligence. There is something very appreciable in it: "Saw a vessel, and immediately bore down upon her. As we approached, she was discovered to be the *Benares*, from Bombay. My anxiety became painful, and it was increased to a degree I cannot describe, when I saw the commanding officer of the *Benares* coming on board. I had retired to a corner of the cabin, and was in vain endeavouring to summon up more fortitude, when my friend Smith, who

giving her that name. It may not be so fine to the ear as some others, but it has, from its belonging to one of the best and most respected of women, a charm in it which will preserve our darling and make her all her parents could wish." He spoke of his beloved mother, still living at Burnfoot, after whom his first-born had been reverentially named.

In another letter, written about the same time, he speaks of his plans and prospects, saying:

"I shall be at Calcutta, I hope, within two weeks, and am prepared to submit a paper to Lord Minto which will put him in possession of every information I have regarding affairs in Persia, and my opinions regarding the measures we should adopt. If he approves of my sentiments, and thinks that he has power to carry the plan into immediate execution, I will make every sacrifice rather than shrink from my public duty at so important a crisis; but if his Lordship, from any cause, declines this course, I will extricate myself as early as I can from a scene in which I can neither obtain credit nor serve my country, and in such event I shall haste to join you and convey you to Mysore, where a residence of two years will enable me to go home with every comfort we can desire. . . . I am tired of wasting my life in exertions which, from the virulence of party in England, are unlikely either to be appreciated or rewarded."—[*August 9—off Point de Galle.*]

On the 22nd of August, Malcolm landed at Calcutta, and was received with the utmost cordiality by the Governor-General. "I have this moment reached Cal-

knew my state of mind, and had made his inquiries of the officer of the Marines the moment he came on board, came running, and taking my hand, congratulated me on the birth of a daughter, and your perfect recovery. I felt quite overcome by my feelings, and poured out with pious fervor, though in silence, my thanks to that merciful Being who had preserved you and your infant. I was hardly composed when Dr. Briggs, John Briggs, and Mr. Blacker came on board with my packets. I tore open a letter from you, and you may suppose, my dearest Charlotte, the emotions with which I received your daily letters from the 21st of May to the 6th of June, upon which I could only exclaim, 'What a wife! what a mother!' May He who has preserved you through such a trial continue to pour down His choicest blessing upon your head."

cutta," he wrote to his wife on that day. "Lord Minto has received me with great kindness. His first inquiries were about you, whom he hoped, he said, to be allowed to call *Charlotte*. I live in his house, and though only an hour landed, have had a hundred inquiries and invitations. All this is pleasant, but it will not make me desire to stay one day—one moment—away from one whom I love every hour with more ardor."*

On the evening of the following day he went with Lord Minto to the Governor-General's country-seat at Barrackpore—a charming residence on the banks of the Hooghly—a change in which he said he greatly delighted. In the personal character of Lord Minto he saw much to admire and to love. It would be an injustice both to Malcolm and to the Governor-General to withhold the following sketch of the amiable nobleman which the former sent to his wife, a few days after his arrival in Calcutta:

"What I have seen of Lord Minto as a public man has impressed me with a very high opinion of his ability. Under a shade of modesty he has a mind stored with honorable sentiments and useful knowledge; and though he may be deficient in that

* In another letter, written on the following day, he writes more fully on the same subject: "When near Calcutta I met the Governor-General's boat, which was sent to bring me to town, and received no less than three notes from John Elliot, expressing his father's anxiety that I should make the Government House my home. When near the landing-place, Elliot himself came to meet me, and carried me to Lord Minto, by whom I was received in a most affable and condescending manner. . . . . On entering upon public business, I immediately discovered that it was my good angel that made me resolve to visit Calcutta, and that the consequence of that step was, that instead of being kept up the Gulf under circumstances of a distressing nature to my feelings, I had been able to clear fully to the satisfaction of Government every point on which they had misunderstood my first proceedings, and that I was not only likely to meet with the fullest approbation, but to be solicited to return upon my own terms. All this Lord Minto gave me reason to conclude would be the case. I can perceive that I am a favorite, and I shall be glad if the prepossession he shows regarding my character enable me to forward the public service. I met my friends Colebrooke and Lumsden, the two councillors, who appeared (particularly the former) overjoyed to see me, as was my excellent friend John Adam."—[*August* 22.]

energy of character which imparts enthusiasm to others, he will prove himself, I am convinced, equal to any crisis that may occur. And it is the advantage of a character like this, which hardly excites expectation, that he will rise, in the precise ratio that he is known, in the estimation of the public. With regard to Lord Minto's private character it is truly amiable and virtuous. It has been an equal subject of astonishment and delight to me to find a man whose life has been passed in all the bustle of public affairs cherishing local attachments with all the enthusiasm of a country gentleman, and resting his happiness upon the truest and best basis—natural ties—and consequently finding in the constantly increasing affection of his family that which gives success its highest zest, and brings comfort under every reverse of fortune. To give you an example: I had been tempted, by his extraordinary kindness and the interest which he took in you, to show him my lines written on the 4th of July,* with which he was much pleased. 'You are,' said he, 'what I term a young man; and it may be of use to you to know, from one who is more than twenty years older, that you have attained, and are in the right road to preserve, the highest happiness of this life. Cherish such feelings; and as one charm of your wife decays, you will see another not less attractive succeed. Your union will be closer, and you will be bound by a thousand ties of which you are yet ignorant. At least this has been my case; and as I see you can feel, I give you a short address which I wrote yesterday to my wife, who is between fifty and sixty; and however deficient it may be in poetry, you will discover in it that which cannot be feigned.'"

After a day or two he was again in Calcutta, complaining of the bustle and the constant necessity of receiving and paying visits.† "I have had several more

* These were some decasyllabics written to his wife on the first anniversary of their wedding day.

† The following anecdote, illustrative of this visit-paying, is worthy of quotation on more accounts than one. It relates to a visit to Sir W. B——, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court: "When I went to his house three days ago with Mr. Colebrooke, to see the Judge and young Wellesley, who lives with him, he said on my entrance, with a mixture of jocularity and greatness, 'I rather imagine, General, that I must place the honor of this visit to Mr. Wellesley more than to myself.' 'Why,' said I, 'since you have mentioned the subject, I will honestly state that, if you had lived in different houses, I would have gone

long discussions with Lord Minto," he wrote on the 24th, "and all satisfactory. The measures I recommend will, I conclude, be adopted; and though I may suffer another short absence, I shall have the satisfaction of having done my public duty, and of having vindicated my own judgment and the interests of the country." "I am quite overwhelmed," he added, "with Lord Minto's kindness. All people here seem to struggle who shall show me greatest kindness. These marks of general esteem are pleasing, but they would be a thousand times more so if you were here to share them." On the 30th he wrote: "The resolution was taken in yesterday's council to stop Sir Harford Jones and send me again to the Gulf; and to adopt all my suggestions. In spite of the short absence from you which this threatens, I should be dead to all feeling for my character and my country if I did not rejoice at this event; and you will, I am sure, join in the feeling." "I shall set about my preparations actively to-morrow," he wrote again to his wife, "and hope to be able to leave this by the 20th. Good God, how my heart will beat when I see the lighthouse at Bombay!"

It was with no common delight that at this time Malcolm received a batch of letters from home, written, for the most part, in answer to those which had announced to his relatives and friends the great fact of his marriage. They were all that he had hoped, all that he could have desired—full of the kindest wishes and most cordial congratulations. How exultingly he wrote of them to his wife:

"If a fellow had written a novel, and had puzzled his brain for

first to see the son of Lord Wellesley, but I should afterwards have paid my respects to his Majesty's Judge.' 'Come, come,' said he, 'you might have said your friend Sir W. B——.' I assented to this improvement in the expression, and we had a hearty laugh. Colebrooke said he rather imagined the little Judge would ask me no more foolish questions."

a twelvemonth to make his hero happy in the last chapter, he could not have been happier than I was yesterday to hear such accounts of you and Margaret—to receive such letters from my relations, so full of joy and affection—to find that they all, without one exception, met you with that warm welcome of the heart which is beyond all welcomes valuable. . . . . What a woman is my dear mother! The nearest wish to my heart is that she should live to embrace you, and to clasp her grandchild, little Margaret, to her heart. John would look on, satisfied with being third on the list for a maternal embrace. With what joy do I look forward to that happy day! But when will it come? I am now more deeply involved than ever in public affairs—more honorably because more largely. Never was more trust conferred on an individual."

Among other letters of congratulation which Malcolm received at this time, was the following from Sir Arthur Wellesley, in whose continued friendship he greatly rejoiced:

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

London, February 25, 1808.

My dear Malcolm,—I beg leave to congratulate you on your marriage, and to assure you that I rejoice most sincerely on an event which is so likely to contribute to your happiness. I beg that you will present my best respects to Mrs. Malcolm, to whom I hope that you will introduce me at the first convenient moment. My time has been so much occupied by my official and other duties, that I have really not had a moment which I could devote to my friends in India. I assure you, however, that I have not forgotten them or their kindness to me, the continued marks of which is the most pleasing circumstance of my life. I am employed in this country much in the same way that I was in India—that is to say, in everything; but there are circumstances in this country which render all employment unpleasant, and make it difficult to perform those services to the public in which every good man must be desirous to have a share.

Lord Wellesley has got the better of the impressions which the

base attacks which have been made upon him had made upon his mind. He has lately made a most distinguished speech in the House of Lords,* and I have no doubt will come forward frequently in the same way. I hope that we shall be able to bring the House of Commons to a vote on the Oude case in the course of next week; not that I think that it signifies essentially whether we do or not, as time has had its usual effect upon the sense or folly of the public, and has convinced them that the man they have been in the habit of abusing was the best governor for India. It is desirable, however, to come to a vote upon this question, as several of Lord Wellesley's Indian friends are anxious about it, as well as others, who have more respect than I have for what passes in Parliament. Lord William† is arrived, and appeared inclined to bring himself before the House of Commons; a plan from which I advised him to desist, and rather to pocket all his grievances and affronts than to expose himself to an attack for years, to defend himself from which would occupy his whole time, and expose him to frequent mortifications.

I shall recommend the same line of conduct to my friend Cradock, who I find, from a letter received from him, is likewise disposed to bring himself before the House of Commons. I think the state of India is uncomfortable. I don't like the continued want of confidence between the officers and soldiers of the army of Fort St. George; still less do I like the proceedings of the French in Persia. I am convinced that they would have been of no avail if the Government had sent you to Persia, as I recommended long ago. However, it cannot now be helped. The state of affairs in Persia creates great anxiety here, but it is of that nature which you have occasionally witnessed in timid or undecided men, who fear something, they know not what, and are more afraid of the remedy than they are of the danger to which they are exposed. Pray remember me most kindly to Wilkes, to Close, Barclay, Simmons, Freere and Mrs. Freere, and Pourneah, and all friends at Seringapatam.

Believe me, ever yours most affectionately,

A. W.

* I conclude that the reference is to Lord Wellesley's speech on the 8th of February, 1808, in defence of the Copenhagen expedition.

† Lord William Bentinck, who had been removed from the Governorship of Madras.

But whilst Malcolm's inner life was made all sunshine by the affectionate letters of his friends; whilst his heart was full of the kindly and grateful feelings they engendered, his brain was busy with schemes for the counteraction of French intrigue in Persia, and the re-establishment of British influence in that country.* He never more exerted himself in that large unstinting manner which characterised his labors in the public service than during this visit to Calcutta. He had mapped out, upon his voyage up the Bay of Bengal, a plan of operations which he believed in all sincerity would place us in a position from which we might, without fear of failure, baffle the craft and the malice of our enemies. And he had urged this project upon Lord Minto, supporting it with an array of arguments which it was impossible to resist. It was, indeed, in its main outline, the revival of an old and long-cherished design. If, he said, we could but establish ourselves on the island of Karrack, in the Persian Gulf, all else that we desired would follow in due course.

But the execution and elaboration of this design was now to be accomplished; and Malcolm was day after day busily occupied in the congenial work of arranging and organising the details of the military establishment, which was to garrison the island, under his command, and threaten all the enemies of Great Britain in Persia, Arabia, and Eastern Turkey. He took counsel with all the most experienced men in Calcutta. He sought assistance and advice wherever they were to be found. All his suggestions were not adopted by Lord Minto and his colleagues. But after due abatement, necessitated by

* I believe that in this passage I have used the correct diplomatic phraseology. *Intrigue* and *influence* are convertible terms representing the same thing—the former being, however, always applied to the diplomacy of our enemies, and the latter to our own.

the greater caution of the responsible authorities, enough still remained to fill Malcolm with extreme satisfaction, when he contemplated the prospect before him. His love ministered to his ambition; his ambition to his love. He saw in the distance, as he wrote playfully, a lordly castle, himself lord of the isle, and his lady-love looking out of a window and smiling approval upon his acts.

About the expediency of this proposed settlement upon the island of Karrack different opinions have been entertained. Malcolm, as I have said, had a formidable array of arguments in support of the project, which it would be unjust to exclude from this chapter:

Firstly. That in the event of an attempt to invade India being made by an European State, it was impossible to place any dependence on the efforts of the King of Persia or the Pacha of Baghdad, unless we possessed the immediate power of punishing their hostility and treachery.

Secondly. That the States of Persia, Eastern Turkey, and Arabia, were, from their actual condition, to be considered less in the light of regular Governments than as countries full of combustible materials, which any nation whose interests it promoted might throw into a flame.

Thirdly. That though the French and Russians might, no doubt, in their advance, easily conquer those States, in the event of their opposing their progress, it was their obvious policy to avoid any contest with the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, as such must, in its progress, inevitably diminish the resources of those countries, and thereby increase the difficulty of supporting their armies—which difficulty formed the chief, if not the sole, obstacle to their advance.

Fourthly. That though it was not to be conceived that the King of Persia or Pacha of Baghdad would willingly allow any European army to pass through his country, but there was every ground to expect that the fear of a greater evil was likely not only to make these rulers observe a neutrality, but to dispose them to aid the execution of a plan which they could not resist,

and make them desire to indemnify themselves for submission to a power they dreaded by agreeing to share in the plunder of weaker States—a line of policy to which it was too obvious they would be united, and to which their fear, weakness, and avarice made it probable that they would accede.

Fifthly.. That under a contemplation of such occurrences, it appeared of ultimate importance that the English Government should instantly possess itself of means to throw those States that favored the approach of its enemies into complete confusion and destruction, in order that it might, by diminishing their resources, increase the principal natural obstacle that opposed the advance of an European army, and this system, when that Government had once established a firm footing and a position situated on the confines of Persia and Turkey, it could easily pursue, with a very moderate force, and without any great risk or expenditure.

Sixthly. That with an established footing in the Gulf of Persia, which must soon become the emporium of our commerce, the seat of our political negotiations, and a depôt for our military stores, we should be able to establish a local influence and strength that would not only exclude other European nations from that quarter, but enable us to carry on negotiations and military operations with honor and security to any extent we desired, whereas, without it, we must continue at the mercy of the fluctuating policy of unsteady, impotent, and faithless Courts, adopting expensive and useless measures of defence at every uncertain alarm, and being ultimately obliged either to abandon the scene altogether, or, when danger actually came, to incur the most desperate hazard of complete failure by sending a military expedition which must trust for its subsistence and safety to States who were known, not only from the individual character of their rulers, but from their actual condition and character, to be undeserving of a moment's confidence.

Seventhly. That there was great danger in any delay, as the plan recommended could only be expected to be beneficial if adopted when there was a time to mature it and to organise all our means of defence before the enemy were too far advanced; otherwise that momentary irritation which must be excited by its adoption would only add to the many other advantages which our want of foresight and attention to our interests in that quarter had already given to our enemies.

These arguments, it has been said, convinced Lord Minto and his colleagues; and Malcolm was authorised to carry into execution his design for the occupation of the island of Karrack by a military force completely organised in all its several departments, and effectively equipped. The authority was but little in advance of the execution. Malcolm's preparations were soon completed. His paper-army was in his portfolio; his plans and estimates were cut and dried; his staff was already selected. The mere flesh-and-blood of his force was to be picked up at Bombay, but all else was matured at Calcutta. He himself was in high spirits. He was to have the supreme military and political authority in the Gulf; and he started with the assured belief that he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the Supreme Government. "The nature," he wrote, "of my duties was well characterised by Lord Minto in a remark he made to me the day I left Bengal. After dwelling upon probable occurrences and the conduct I should pursue, he concluded by saying, 'Your duties, General Malcolm, are, however, not to be defined. All I can say is, you are placed in a situation where you are as likely to go wrong from prudence as from the want of it.'"

In another letter, written at this time, he spoke more fully upon the same subject, and dwelt upon the feelings of hopeful ambition with which he started upon this important mission:

"You know," he wrote, "how full of doubt my mind was with regard to the view which Lord Minto would take of affairs in Persia. These have all been dispelled, and I depart on a second mission to that country, armed with all the powers, military and political, that I could desire, and honored by a confidence which appears unbounded. I depart, in short, with every motive to action that private and public feeling can produce; and even my Charlotte only shares my breast at this moment with my country.

But love for you and ardor in the glorious cause in which I am engaged are not discordant passions. They are in such complete unison that I should not be worthy of the blessings I enjoy from the one if I were not devoted to the other. What individual of my rank in life was ever called to act in so great a scene! The field to which I go may prove fallow, but it may produce a glorious harvest, and make me the envy of the proudest man this day in England. To have a share, however trifling, in the present great contest, and one in which it is possible individual exertions may be recognised as contributing to the success of his country, is a thought that must elevate any man's mind who has an atom of patriotism in his frame. I am, I confess, all flame at the idea that this good fortune is mine; and, if opportunities offer, neither you nor your children, my dearest wife, shall ever blush for my conduct."

With these high hopes and aspirations, Malcolm embarked at the beginning of October for Bombay. In the solitude of his cabin, as the *Fox** frigate worked its way down the river, he began to review all the circumstances of his mission and the contingencies with which he might be called upon to grapple. New possibilities, arising out of the great European struggle, suggested themselves to his mind, and new references to the Supreme Government were hurried off by every dawk-boat to Calcutta. But the communications between the frigate and Government House were not all despatched from the former. Whilst Malcolm was exulting in the thought of the great work before him, an express-boat came alongside the *Fox* at Kedgeree, and a letter was brought to him from the Governor-General. All his grand hopes were shivered at a blow. He was recalled to Calcutta.

It was with great perturbation of spirit that he read Lord Minto's letter:

* The *Fox* had formerly been commanded by Pulteny Malcolm. It was now commanded by Captain Cochrane.

LORD MINTO TO BRIGADIER MALCOLM.

(*Confidential.*)

Barrackpore, Sept. 30, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,—I think it likely that the intelligence which my son sent you last night, the instant it arrived, of Sir Harford Jones's determination to go to Persia, and of his expectation to sail on Sunday, the 11th of September, may induce you to return to Calcutta, if it were but for an hour. However, as Captain Cochrane may object to any delay, I send you my first thoughts on this event, which seems to disconcert all our late plans. I have no hope of his receiving the letter which was despatched after your arrival to prevent the possibility of his taking this step, as he will be anxious to avoid any such instructions. Sir H. Jones may not be received even at Bushire, or he may be detained there until orders are received from Court. If his mission is rejected in its first stage, no great delay will happen, and the measures we had settled may proceed.

But I confess I rather expect that he will make his way good to Shiraz. There will be an anxious desire there to make that place the seat of an English negotiation; and the King will see in that measure a reprieve from the apprehensions you left on his mind. If this happens, a considerable delay, the extent of which it is difficult to foresee, must take place. Sir Harford can obtain nothing, we know, but a negotiation may with great ease be spun out to any length—possibly, till events themselves negotiate for him, or till the invading armies are in possession of the country. I cannot tell at what period the transactions he will report to me will enable me to interpose; and if he goes to Shiraz, or negotiate at Bushire, it appears to me that time *must* be allowed to him.

In this interval, Karrack must be *necessarily* suspended. We cannot commit hostilities on Persia while the King of England is negotiating with the King of Persia.

It appears to me that you should now go to Bussorah, and apply yourself actively to that branch of our affairs. You will be at hand to resume the Persian plans when events admit of it. You will have to withdraw Captain Pasley and all your establishment from Bushire. There should be no possibility of *jostling* between anything that is yours and Sir Harford Jones's—I mean, no possibility of its being suspected or imputed by him. Mr. Smith

should resume his station. You should reserve no more of your own establishment than is really wanted for the business of Baghdad, &c., and you should keep only a becoming escort for your person, unless the troops now in the Gulf can be received without jealousy at Bussorah. All that you do not want will return to India, unless Sir Harford Jones should require an escort or guard of honor, which he declines, however, at present, intending to desire one from the King of Persia, when things are ripe for such a request.

The sooner you are at Bombay the better, as events seem to shift very fast. Instructions will meet you there, adapted to all cases; and I should wish to know your own sentiments on the whole matter.

Sir Harford Jones will probably be at Shiraz before anything from hence can reach him; but I doubt very much the power of controlling him from Bengal, although I certainly possess the right to do so, and shall assert it.

Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Most truly and affectionately yours,

MINTO.

There was no time to be lost; so Malcolm ordered his baggage to be transferred to another vessel, and prepared at once to return to Calcutta. He was deeply disappointed; and it must not be denied that some feelings of anger and bitterness were mingled with his disappointment. Why had Sir Harford Jones sailed for the Persian Gulf? Why had he not waited to learn the results of Malcolm's visit to Calcutta? All the circumstances of the case were now recalled and considered as the Brigadier-General took boat for Calcutta —— Prevented, by the state of European politics, from carrying out the original design of proceeding to Persia through the Russian territory, Sir Harford Jones had made his way to Bombay, and arrived there shortly after Malcolm's departure for the Gulf. It is not strange that he should have felt greatly perplexed and embarrassed. He came with a commis-

sion from the King of England; he was the representative of the Court of St. James; and Malcolm was the last person to have questioned for a moment the duty of such an ambassador to carry out the instructions he had received, according to the best of his ability. He may have been, and I believe he was, the wrong man in the right place. But, right or wrong, there he was at Bombay with credentials from the Crown; but restrained from proceeding on his mission by the knowledge that Malcolm had started before him with credentials from the Governor-General. The embarrassment which had arisen was compelled by the force of circumstances. I do not see that any one was blameworthy; but assuredly it may be said, up to this point, of Sir Harford Jones, that if there *were* any blame, he was more "sinned against than sinning."

The arrival of the Crown Ambassador at Bombay created some sensation in the settlement. People asked each other "What next?"—and Jones was as little able to answer the question as any one else. Perhaps, in the perplexity which had arisen, he did the best thing he could—he consulted Sir James Mackintosh. Now Mackintosh, with all respect for the Crown, which he himself judicially represented, was thoroughly a Malcolmite. He well knew what were the zeal, the energy, and the ability of the great military diplomatist, and believed that he, and he only, as the representative of British interests in Persia, would be the right man in the right place. What he wrote to Malcolm on the subject is too amusing, too characteristic of Mackintosh himself, and too descriptive of the state of things at Bombay, for me to withhold:

". . . . . Lord Minto, unfortunately, thought that the King and the Directors had taken Persia out of his hands, and that nothing remained in his power to give you but the control of mili-

tary preparations and political negotiations in the Persian Gulf, and in all the neighbouring states except Persia. Several of your friends have thought that you would regret this curtailed office: I thought otherwise. I thought that you would do all the good which you could do, though you could no longer do what you have done. I do not conceive that I was less jealous of your true dignity than those who thought otherwise, and I rejoice that Colonel Close (whom I apprised of the whole progress of the affair) perfectly agreed with me. No man can doubt either the superiority of his judgment, or the warmth of his friendship for you. But we were most happily delivered from these perplexities from a quarter most unexpected by me. Two forenoons after the arrival of the despatches, as I lay slumbering on the sofa in my library (a situation into which I had been betrayed by one of Mr. Quarto Cox's volumes of Austrian history), I was awakened by the entrance of Sir H. Jones. After a few preliminary words, he told me that the object of his visit was to consult me on his conduct; that he had three ways before him; to go immediately, not to go at all, or to delay going to September;—that the first might occasion divisions injurious to the public service, and must retard instead of expediting the business of the mission, because it would interrupt the measures which you must have taken before he could arrive, and a recommencement of everything; that the second was impossible without positive disobedience to the King's orders; and that the third seemed to him the best mode of promoting the two grand objects of harmony and expedition, as by such a delay he would show a respect for your feelings, and leave you full time to conclude your negotiations;—his arrival at Bushire being on that plan not likely before the middle of October, and at Teheran not probably before December or even January. If all things proceeded prosperously, he could then put the seal to your agreements, and remain himself as Resident Minister in that capital. You will easily believe that I commended his moderation, his absence of eagerness to display personal importance, his sacrifice of personal feelings to public advantage, &c., &c., &c. I said all that it was natural to say on such an occasion, and with as much warmth as could be shown without too strongly implying that his not undertaking the mission was a public benefit. I endeavoured to confirm his good inclinations, and I flatter myself that he left

me at least more determined not to disturb you. . . . . During the whole of this affair, I have felt all the passions of a partisan as warmly as in the first Westminster election that interested my boyish zeal. As I am the most experienced demagogue here, I have given out the tone to the numerous faction of the Malcolmites to be loud in their commendation of our Envoy's forbearance. In general, I do not recommend a rigorous inquisition into the motives of useful actions; and here there is certainly an absence of conceit, presumption, and turbulence, which is a very proper subject of commendation. Vice may, to be sure, be as often checked by opposite vice as controlled by virtue; but it is politically sufficient that it should by any means be excluded."

So Sir Harford Jones tarried at Bombay, awaiting instructions from the Governor-General, whilst Malcolm, in the Persian Gulf, was trying the temper of the Court of Teheran. If when those instructions* arrived, Jones was still embarrassed and perplexed, there is nothing strange in such a result. He, however, continued to remain at Bombay until he heard of Malcolm's departure from the Gulf. His opportunity of action then seemed to have arrived. Lord Minto thought so too; and on the 12th of August wrote to Sir Harford Jones a letter loosing him from the diplomatic quarantine in which he had so long been placed—setting him free to do the best he could among the intractable Persians. So as a proof of his zeal he put himself at once on board ship, and steered for the Persian Gulf.

On the 12th of August, I have said, this letter was written. On the 20th, Malcolm reached Calcutta. On the 22nd, Lord Minto wrote to Sir Harford Jones desiring him not to leave Bombay. But before that letter reached its destination, Jones had put out to sea. It was the intelligence of this fact, received after Malcolm's departure, which now induced Lord Minto to recall him.

* *Lord Minto to Sir Harford Jones; April* 21, 1808.

Rightly or wrongly, Malcolm believed that the Baronet had made all haste from Bombay in hourly expectation of the arrival of the letter of recall. It was this consideration that so chafed him. It was this that brought him back to Calcutta, mortified and indignant—but only for a while. He found the Governor-General as much annoyed as himself:

"After proceeding to Kedgeree," wrote Malcolm on the 7th of October, "I have been recalled, and am again in Calcutta to consult about the proceedings of Sir Harford, who, I find, escaped one day before the letter of the 22nd, which ordered him to remain at Bombay, reached that place. I have transhipped my luggage from the *Fox* to the *Cornwallis*, and shall sail for Bombay direct by the 16th or 17th of this month, so that I shall be sooner with you than I could by any other arrangement. I cannot tell you the agitation of my mind on this occasion. I have had the cup dashed from my lips, and plans which promised to make me the fortunate instrument of my country's success, are now delayed, if not altogether defeated. I cannot tell you Lord Minto's distress. Government seems more anxious than ever that I should not retire from the scene, and their conduct has been such that I must not shrink from any task they inflict."

It did not take long to determine the course that was to be pursued. There was little debate, indeed, for Lord Minto, his colleagues,* and Malcolm, were all agreed upon the subject. They would not consent to be ignominiously beaten by a mere accident. They resolved to address more stringent letters than before to Sir Harford Jones, and if he did not then retire from the scene, to repudiate all his proceedings. Meanwhile, Malcolm was to take ship for Bombay; to muster his force; to prepare his equipments, and to make all things ready for his descent on the island, from which he was to menace

* Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Colebrooke.

Persia, Arabia, and the Porte, and baffle the designs of Napoleon and the Czar.

His ambition thus rekindled, his spirits soon rose; and if it had not been for the loss of his wife's correspondence, which in expectation of his departure from Calcutta had necessarily ceased, he would have regained his accustomed equanimity. This tried his patience severely; but as the time for his departure approached, he wrote more and more cheerfully:

Calcutta, October 10.—Another change! The *Cornwallis* is ordered to Madras; future destination not explained, and the *Chiffonne* is directed to carry me to Bombay. I suppose I shall get away about the 20th or 25th, and thus I am doomed to pass fifteen more days in this vile place without the only consolation I can have in absence—my Charlotte's letters, which are all gone to Madras.

Government House, October 11.— . . . . Your acquaintance, Mrs. W——, happened not to have been introduced to Lord Minto when she dined here, and mistaking him for another, she said, "Do you know the cause of General Malcolm's return to Calcutta?" "I believe I can guess," was the Lord's reply. "Pray, then, tell me," said the lady. Lord Minto hesitated till after we were seated at table, and then said, "We had better give the General plenty of wine, and we shall get this secret out of him." The lady, who had now discovered his rank, began to make apologies. "I assure you, my Lord," she said, "I did not know you." "I am delighted at that compliment," he replied. "Not to be known as Governor-General in private society is my ambition. I suppose," he added, laughing, "you thought I looked too young and too much of a puppy for that old grave fellow Lord Minto, whom you had heard people talking about." I mention this anecdote as very characteristic of that playful pleasantry which makes Lord Minto so agreeable to those with whom he associates. I am going to Barrackpore for three or four days, and am rejoiced at the prospect of a little quiet.

Barrackpore, October 13.— . . . . I have been employed these last three hours with John Elliot and other boys in trying how

long we could keep up two cricket-balls. Lord Minto caught us. He says he must send me on a mission to some *very young* monarch, for that I never shall have the gravity of an ambassador for a prince turned of twelve. He, however, added the well-known and admirable story of Henry IV. of France, who, when caught on all fours carrying one of his children by the Spanish envoy, looked up and said, "Is your Excellency married?" "I am, and have a family," was the reply. "Well, then," said the monarch, "I am satisfied, and shall take another turn round the room;" and off he galloped, with his little son, flogging and spurring him, on his back. I have sometimes thought of breaking myself of what are termed boyish habits; but reflection has satisfied me that it would be very foolish, and that I should esteem it a blessing that I can find amusement in everything, from tossing a cricket-ball to negotiating a treaty with the Emperor of China. Men who give themselves entirely to business and despise (which is their term) trifles, are very able in their general conception of the great outlines of a plan, but they feel a want of that knowledge which is only to be gained by mixing with all classes in the world, when they come to those lesser points upon which its successful execution may depend. Of this I am certain; besides, all habits which give a man light, elastic spirits, are good.

After another day or two at Barrackpore—the picturesque beauty and refreshing quietude of which he contrasted strongly in his letters with the continued excitement and painful glare of Calcutta—Malcolm returned to the Presidency to complete his arrangements for departure. The gaieties of the cold season were commencing, and he complained much of the necessity of attending a round of dinner-parties and balls. His criticisms upon Calcutta society—especially the *burra-beebees*, or great ladies of the settlement—were not very favorable; but a man in love with a young wife is hardly a fair judge of other women. The last week, however, was struggled through, and on the 26th of October Malcolm found himself on board the *Chiffonne*, bound for

Bombay. Of the commander, Captain Wainwright, and of his officers, he wrote in high terms; and he was well pleased with the arrangements which had been made for his comfortable entertainment during the voyage. But nothing delighted him so much as the society of a fine boy of ten years—the captain's son—who soon discovered Malcolm's wonderful fund of anecdote, and was continually asking the General to "tell him a story." That Malcolm told him some good ones—principally of an Oriental complexion, picked up, perhaps, in Persia—his journal abundantly testifies. But I am not sure that Johnny Wainwright was not the hero of as good an one as any of which he was the recipient.*

The voyage, however, was devoted in part to graver pursuits than these. Malcolm was a man who could never be idle, even as the world estimates idleness. He was not one who thought even a great statesman or a great monarch idle, when employed on that work which

> ——benign affections cultivates
> Among the inferior kinds;†

* "Captain Wainwright had been a little angry with Johnny for falling into Indian fashions, and employing servants to help him in dressing himself, to bring his hat, &c. A scheme was contrived to cure him of this disposition of being a *Nabob*, which was put in execution with great success this morning. At five o'clock all the servants of Captain Wainwright, and those belonging to Smith, Ellis, and me, were assembled at the cabin door. They were about twelve in number, and belonged to the four quarters of the globe. Europeans, Americans, Asiatics, and Africans rushed in at once upon the astonished Johnny, whom they surrounded. They first paid him their profound respects, and hoped his Excellency the Nabob had had a good night's rest, and wished him long life, wealth, and happiness. He endeavoured to escape, but they insisted upon dressing him. One held his trousers, another his shoes, another a basin of water, another a tooth-brush, while a tall Indian fanned him. Thus, in spite of his struggles, they began to put his clothes on, and he was not allowed to get out of their hands till completely oppressed by their attentions. Though much annoyed, the little fellow preserved great temper throughout this experiment; and he told me privately, after it was over, he understood its meaning, but would show hereafter he wanted nobody's help, and could take care of himself." —[*Malcolm's Private Journal.*]

† I quote here, in a note, not with-

but seldom or never did a day pass on which he did not acquire and communicate information of a substantial kind. The number and variety of his literary and political papers are significant rather of the life of a recluse than of a man of active habits, ever in the front of the world. The truth is, that it was on such occasions as these—between the acts of the great stirring drama of life, when the scenes were being shifted and the performers were arraying themselves—that he seated himself before his desk with all the sobriety of a clerk, and the abstractedness of a philosophic student. He had a wonderful faculty of applying himself to the business of the hour. We may be sure that when, as once again he dropped down the Hooghly river, he applied himself to the preparation of a discourse on the career of Nadir Shah (to be submitted by his friend Mr. Colebrooke to the Asiatic Society), he did not suffer any thoughts of Sir Harford Jones to interrupt his researches into the origin of the great Persian conqueror, or the history of his magnificent exploits.

The voyage to Bombay occupied a month; and to Malcolm, in spite of the attentions he received, it was a tedious and wearisome one. His patience was sorely

out a purpose; the whole of this passage, which it need not be said is in Wordsworth's *Excursion:*

The dignity of life is not impaired
By aught that innocently satisfies
The humbler cravings of the heart, and he
Is a still happier man, who for those heights
Of speculation not unfit, descends
And such benign affections cultivates
Among the inferior kinds.

Malcolm's philosophy was eminently Wordsworthian; and yet he could never be brought to admire Wordsworth as a poet. Many years after the point of time which this narrative has now reached, when Malcolm, resident at Hyde Hall, near Cambridge, delighted to entertain some of the most eminent members of that university—Whewell and Sedgwick included—the great merits of Wordsworth as a poet were often insisted upon at Sir John's table with much earnestness and eloquence by the Cambridge men; but Malcolm never could be induced to give him a place in his calendar of Poets. I have often wondered at this. Malcolm's philosophy, as will have been gathered from his journal-letters quoted in this chapter, was so eminently Wordsworthian. But I shall speak of this matter again in another place.

tried by the baffling winds which met the *Chiffonne* off the island of Ceylon, and he sometimes reproached himself for a testiness very foreign to his nature. Men have lost their temper, under a continuance of adverse winds, with much less excuse for it than Malcolm, who was all eagerness to embrace his young wife and to kiss the babe she had borne him. Such suspense is not favorable to occupation, and, for once, he felt it difficult to fix his mind on the studies; but he labored assiduously at his paper on the Sikhs, and completed it during the voyage. At last, on the 30th of November, the vessel entered Bombay harbor—and Malcolm was happy.

It seemed, however, that nothing more than a glimpse of domestic joy was to be vouchsafed to him. Scarcely had he joined his family, when he was compelled to busy himself with preparations for departure. The instructions forwarded from Bengal for the organisation of the force which he was to command in the Gulf had of course preceded him, and he now set about his preparations with an energy which nothing could obstruct or abate. By the beginning of the new year his arrangements were so nearly completed that he believed his embarkation would not be many days delayed. On the 3rd of January he wrote to Mr. Henry Wellesley, saying:

"I am now at Bombay; and proceed to the Gulf in ten days, with an admirably well-appointed little force of about two thousand men, and am to be followed, if it is found necessary, by three or four thousand more. The object you know. It is to make a settlement upon the island of Karrack, and to occupy a position on the shores of Persia and Eastern Turkey, from whence we can negotiate with dignity and act—if to act becomes necessary—with effect. We shall, when this first step is taken, be upon some footing with the French and Russians, and have the

means (which we do not at present possess) of encouraging our friends and keeping our enemies in check. In short, we shall advance our resources to the scene of action, and establish a local influence and strength on the basis of which we may rear any fabric, and without which we can do nothing."

A few days afterwards, however, he wrote to Colonel Bannerman, then one of the Directors of the Company, that the necessity of a reference to Bengal had caused the departure of the expedition to be delayed:

"I am here at the head of a very select corps of near two thousand men, and should have sailed before this for the Gulf, had not Sir Harford Jones been as successful in getting away from Bushire two days before he received Lord Minto's orders to return, as he was in escaping by twenty-four hours the orders of the Supreme Government for him to remain in India. This proceeding has produced a question connected with public faith on which I have felt it my duty to write to Bengal, and I shall probably be detained till the 10th of February. Perhaps the gleam of success in Europe may alter all Lord Minto's plans, and I may be countermanded. If so, I shall, with a feeling of delight (as far as I am personally concerned), quit a scene into which I was completely pressed; for after the preference which the gentlemen at home had given to Sir Harford Jones—after the complete neglect with which they had treated me for eight years, during which they have not noticed one of the numerous recommendations of my political services, and after their inattention to my just claims for remuneration for losses incurred by my employment on extra missions (recommended to their notice by the most economical of all their Governors, Sir George Barlow)—I could feel no desire to embark on a mission by which I was likely to lose all hopes of future favor by coming into harsh contact with Sir Harford Jones—the favorite elect. An urgent sense of public duty, however, obliged me to attend to the call of the Supreme Government, and here I am, embarked upon a sea of troubles, with a knowledge that they whose interests it is my incessant labor to promote view all my efforts with an eye of prejudice. I am considered, I am told, a friend to Lord Wellesley

and his measures. This is my first crime.* My second is extravagance of the public money. To the first I plead guilty with feelings of conscious pride. To the second I say it is false, and that ample proof of its being so will be found upon public record. I have been the medium of expending a considerable amount of public money—I have had the conduct of almost every large extra mission that has been undertaken for these last seven years.

* I may mention here that this conviction, which Malcolm had often stated before, was made known at the India House, and was combated by one of the best and ablest of the Directors, Mr. Charles Grant. The following passage of a letter from this excellent man was transcribed by Sir James Mackintosh, and forwarded by him to Malcolm:

"*London, Oct.* 14, 1810.—There never was, certainly, anything more involved, nor of the conclusion of which it is more difficult to form an opinion. The original idea of deputing an Envoy with a King's commission from this country to Persia was itself liable to obvious question. But there was, when it was first conceived, a cogent reason; viz., that of sending the Envoy through Russia, with a view of forming there a joint plan of Persian negotiation to counteract the designs of France. The sudden revolution, however, in the councils of that unhappy being who is Emperor of all the Russias, disconcerted this scheme; but it was thought to render the weight of the King's name in a separate mission to Persia still very expedient, and Sir Harford Jones, *who had been taken up* in Lord Grenville's administration the year I was last out of the Direction, was adopted by the succeeding administration, in consequence of which I, as deputy-chairman, had to transact with him, jointly with the chairman, Mr. Parry, the details of his mission—the only intercourse I ever happened to be called upon to have with him, and that was conducted purely in an official manner.

"Though I have never seen Colonel Malcolm, I conceive that he and Sir Harford Jones must be very different men. It is one of the many unjust things imputed to the Court of Directors that they have proscribed character and talents merely because they were employed by Lord Wellesley. The character and talents were not his property. They belonged to the service of the Company, and the Company's right to them was not alienated, nor did they mean to renounce it, because for a time they might have been misdirected. The continuance in office of several gentlemen patronised by Lord Wellesley, and the promotion of Sir George Barlow, who gave in to all his schemes, may be quoted against the imputation I am combating, which probably is not confined to Colonel Malcolm, though I have heard it only through his friends. True it is the Company did not approve Lord Wellesley's foreign policy, and we now continue to groan under its effects. It is also true that his embassy to Persia and other States seemed to us as useless as they were ostentatious and extravagantly expensive; and the treaty with Persia, were it only for the colour that it has afforded to charge us with breach of faith because we would not, when in amity with Russia, assist him against that power, would have been better let alone. I will not say, therefore, that the Persian treaty was likely to recommend the negotiator to our favor: but with respect to the choice of an envoy, that consideration had no place. The leading idea was that there should be a mission not from India, even in the name of the King, but directly from his Court, as well as by his authority."

Some, of course, have been expensive; but was that my fault? Had I any concern in it? I have received thanks for my successful execution of all those missions, and for my attention to economy in their conduct. I never had to refund a rupee since I entered the service. Nor did Government object to one charge which I made. . . . . .

"I hope I shall be soon liberated from these obligations, which at present keep me to my work—a sense of public duty and gratitude to the Supreme Government for the distinction it had heaped upon me—and I shall instantly retire from a scene with which I am completely disgusted. My fortune is very moderate—less by 6000*l.* than it would have been had I been left as quiet as other Residents. But it is sufficient for me to enjoy every comfort of domestic happiness, and I appreciate that too highly to continue to make a sacrifice of such a solid joy, without much greater prospects of advancement and fame than it would appear lawful for such an humble being as I am to indulge."*

The doubts expressed in this letter were not without solid foundation. Already had Lord Minto written to desire that the sailing of the expedition might be suspended, if it had not already taken its departure. Malcolm was not a man to display his promptitude in the wrong place. He might have embarked his troops and been in full sail for Karrack before the expedition could be countermanded, had he thought only of himself; but he felt that the aspect of affairs in Europe would in all probability induce a change in the councils of Calcutta, and he determined to give the Government a chance of suspending the measure. When, therefore, at the end of January or beginning of February, Malcolm re-

* In this letter he speaks of his literary pursuits. After alluding to his *Memoir of the Sikhs*, which he had sent to Bengal to be published in the *Asiatic Researches*, he says: "I have a *History of Persia* in some forwardness, as well as a treatise on the *Political History of British India*. By all this you will perceive that I do not allow any disgust on my mind to prevent my working as hard as I can for the public good."

ceived an official letter from Lord Minto, enclosing the latest intelligence from Europe, and containing the following paragraphs, he was not surprised, and he was hardly disappointed:

"This intelligence warrants a conclusion that the projects of the ruler of France, as connected with Persia and with the British possessions in this country, must at least be indefinitely suspended if not entirely relinquished; the measures therefore in progress for the support of our interests in Persia become less urgent, and the receipt of this intelligence in that country may be expected materially to affect the hopes, the views, and disposition of the Persian Court. We may reasonably expect that the King, thus deprived of the hope of relief from the ascendancy of Russia by the aid of France, will solicit from the British power the support and alliance which the delusive promises of France have hitherto induced him to reject, and we may expect from concession what we were prepared to acquire by force. The establishment at the island of Karrack, although still highly desirable, is become an object of less urgency with reference to our immediate security against the designs of France. The scale of equipment must unavoidably involve a very burdensome expense, which, unless indispensably necessary, is of the utmost importance to avoid. Under the possibility, therefore, that this despatch may reach Bombay before the armament has actually sailed for the Persian Gulf, I deem it a duty to desire that the expedition may be suspended. In this event, however, it is not my intention to abandon the project of forming an establishment on the island of Karrack, but to prosecute it on a more limited scale, and by the means of negotiation, which in the present important change in the affairs of Europe may be expected to be successful. The detail of measures by means of which I contemplate the practicability of accomplishing this object must form the subject of a future despatch. The immediate purpose of this letter is to suspend the expedition if it shall not have left Bombay when this communication shall reach that Presidency.

"If the armament shall have sailed, and shall have accomplished its object, it is not my intention to withdraw the establish-

ment from the island of Karrack, although I shall probably deem it proper to limit the extent of the force employed in the Gulf, with a view to the reduction of expense."

In this letter, Lord Minto, whilst declaring his opinion that the position of affairs in Europe would render the Persian monarch eager to cultivate an alliance with the British, expressed his desire to locate a Resident Minister —not Sir Harford Jones—at the Persian Court; and in other communications it was intimated to Malcolm, that although it was doubtful whether his military functions would not be wholly suspended, he might still proceed to Persia in a political capacity. But he looked askance at the proposal. To Mr. Colebrooke, one of the members of Council, to John Elliot, Lord Minto's son and private secretary, and to others, he wrote that the union of the two authorities was necessary to his success. "I have, thank God, too much principle," he wrote, "to undertake a task which I cannot perform; and such are the accumulated difficulties which await me in Persia, that I must anticipate failure if vested with one iota less than what you originally gave—and under this conviction you could not wish me to proceed. I would rather, I assure you, join my corps, and go in command of it to Persia, if the French or Russians were advancing in that quarter, than hold the highest political station and be directed to carry the plan of operations you have resolved upon into execution in concert with a senior military officer."* And again: "I am not the least angry or offended; but I am resolved upon the line which my own character and the interests of my country require me to pursue. With a divided power, I cannot anticipate success, and I have told them so. . . . . In

* *Brigadier Malcolm to Mr. Colebrooke; Bombay, March* 8, 1809.

short, the case is plain: I will not go to Persia on such terms as a political agent."

Whether it had ever been seriously contemplated to send another military officer (as Malcolm here surmises) in command of the force, I do not know; but at this time it would seem that the Government contemplated a total abandonment of the military part of the expedition; and nothing could be done in the political line until the result of Sir Harford Jones's embassy was known. As time advanced, it became more and more obvious that the state of affairs rendered a demonstration of force in the Persian Gulf no longer necessary or expedient; so, on the very day before Malcolm wrote the letter above quoted, Lord Minto addressed to him a long private letter, thus expressing his views:

"You will receive along with this letter an official intimation of the resolutions we have adopted respecting your expedition to the Gulf, which the present state of affairs both in Europe and Persia have induced us to lay aside. From some passages in your letters, I should apprehend that our opinion does not entirely concur with yours upon this point. I shall think this not only a subject of regret, but a ground of reasonable distrust in our own judgment. It has been formed, however, on mature consideration, or rather, having been suggested by the first aspect of the new events in Europe, it has been confirmed by more deliberate reflection, and bears with it, to me, the strong sanction of the entire and unanimous concurrence of my colleagues. I know that a struggle—and, considering both the efforts that will be made and the precious stake that is to be contested, I may be allowed to say, a fearful struggle—is yet to be maintained for Spain, as well as for other great interests in Europe. I have good hopes, thank God, of that great and noble cause; but if I thought the influence of European events on the affairs and policy of our Indian Empire turned altogether on the first issue of the contests in Spain, I should not think any considerable alteration of system, or relaxation in either military or political preparation, were yet warranted.

My view of the events alluded to goes further; and whatever comes of the first crash in Spain, the rest of Europe seems to me sufficiently agitated by the great scene that has been acting there to demand the full and exclusive attention and exertion of the French Government, and to preclude for a time, indefinite, but certainly not short, the distant and difficult projects which have been the objects of our late policy and measures. I think it safe—and if safe it certainly is advisable—to frame our present measures upon the principle that a French invasion of India is not *now* to be apprehended; and if that danger should again arise, it must follow events yet to occur, which will give both to us and to our Government at home sufficient notice to renew our defensive preparations. I consider one of the most effectual preparations against a danger thus remote, as I think it, to be the reduction of every public charge that is not indispensable. In that view we have directed our late measures to a speedy pacification with the Rajah of Lahore; and it falls within the same principle to abstain from the unascertained, but generally considerable, charges of new settlements and territorial establishments, such as that which was proposed at Karrack. If the considerations which prevailed when you conceived so wisely, and recommended that plan so ably to our adoption, were still equally valid or urgent, no motives of economy should induce me to forego it. But, without deciding whether the possession of Karrack may not be deemed advantageous independent of the benefit we expected from it while a French invasion was contemplated, the absence of that danger makes undoubtedly a great difference in several material points. First, it does not appear necessary to obtain that object by military force, or by measures of actual hostility. Persia has, now, occasion for our friendship, and so small a sacrifice would not be refused, if it were thought expedient to make it an object of negotiation. In the next place, every purpose of this Government would be answered by a very inconsiderable post on that island; and the establishment required for it, on the supposition of peace and of an amicable occupation, would bear no relation to that over which, for objects entirely different, you was to preside. If, after all, a forcible occupation of Karrack should become advisable, I conceive it can never be difficult to accomplish it. For these reasons, and for others which it is not necessary to enumerate in this letter, I think we are at liberty, and it is, therefore, our duty, to re-

nounce the proposed expedition, and, so far as Persia is concerned, to resume our peace establishment. Knowing how your mind and all its powers have for such a length of time been devoted to the great interests involved in the affairs of Persia and generally in the Persian Gulf—knowing how instrumental I have myself been in disturbing the tranquillity, public and domestic, of your permanent station at Mysore, and of kindling the very ardor which this letter is to extinguish—I cannot but feel extreme regret and discomfort at a termination which, on one hand, withdraws such talents as yours, with all the energy which belongs to your character, from the great field on which they were to be displayed, and, on the other, may seem to blight the rich fruits of honor and distinction which you were on the point of gathering. These are sentiments in which I hope and *am convinced* you firmly believe, while I rely on the rectitude as well as strength of mind which distinguish you for feeling that they are sentiments which may be permitted to follow, but which could not be allowed any share in forming, our resolution on this great public question."

To this decision Malcolm bowed with divided feelings. He was, in one sense, disappointed, for an opportunity of serving his country and acquiring distinction was suddenly lost to his ambition, whilst a large instalment of domestic happiness and repose seemed now to be gained to his love. To all appearance it had become his appointed duty to return to the Mysore Residency. The state of the monsoon prevented him from immediately taking ship for Madras, so he sojourned for some weeks longer at Bombay. In the society of Sir James Mackintosh, and in the collection and preparation of materials for his contemplated Political History of India, and a still more important work on the History of Persia, he found much both to delight and occupy his mind. But it was not decreed that he should enjoy any continued season of social relaxation or literary leisure. In the course of May he embarked with his family for Madras; but he arrived there only to find the Government in alarm, the

Presidency in commotion, and the army in rebellion. That great event known in history as the Madras Mutiny was now realising Malcolm's forebodings. He had seen the storm coming on for years; and now that it was come, he had fully made up his mind regarding the line of conduct which it behoved the Government to pursue. The long-fermenting discontents had been brought to the climax of open mutiny by a circumstance which, though of comparative insignificance in itself, added to a pile of antecedent wrongs, completed a weight of injury too heavy for the army to bear.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MADRAS MUTINY.

[1809.]

ABOLITION OF THE TENT-CONTRACT — CONDUCT OF GENERAL MACDOWALL — ARREST OF COLONEL MUNRO—EXCESSES OF THE ARMY—MEASURES OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT — THE MUTINY AT MASULIPATAM — MALCOLM DESPATCHED THITHER—HIS TREATMENT OF THE MUTINEERS—RETURN TO MADRAS—DISAPPROBATION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW—OPINIONS OF SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH—REAPPOINTMENT TO PERSIA.

In the month of February, 1807, Sir John Cradock, being then Commander-in-Chief of the Coast Army, in pursuance of a general scheme of retrenchment suggested by the Court of Directors and acted upon by the local Government, called upon Colonel Munro, his quarter-master-general, to take into his special consideration, and to afford the Commander-in-Chief every assistance that might enable him to form a sound judgment respecting, the manner in which camp equipage was supplied to the Native Army.*

Under the existing system, the commanding officers of regiments held a contract for the supply of tents and carriage for their men. The amount of the contract-money did not vary; in peace or war it was the same. Colonel Munro thought it was a bad system; and among

* *Sir John Cradock to Colonel Munro; February* 7, 1807.

other evils, he pointed out that it had a tendency to induce officers to enrich themselves at the expense of the efficiency of their corps. He recommended, therefore, that the system should be abolished. Government concurred with him in opinion, and these tent-contracts were abolished.

Sir John Cradock was succeeded in the command of the Coast Army by General Macdowall. The commander-in-chief of a presidency is ordinarily appointed to a seat in the Government, and draws the salary of a member of Council. The appointment emanates from the India House; but in the present case, for certain reasons which it is unnecessary to explain, the Court of Directors refused to nominate General Macdowall a member of the Coast Government. The result may be readily anticipated. The Commander-in-Chief, who was very sparingly endowed with temper and judgment, hugged the grievance to his heart, and lived in a chronic state of irritation not only against the Company, who had offended him, but against the Government of Sir George Barlow, which was wholly guiltless of the offence.

The abolition of the tent-contracts was grievously unpopular with the officers of the Native Army, especially with those of the higher ranks. Dissatisfaction had been for some time fermenting among them; and General Macdowall rather increased than allayed the general irritation. A memorial was drawn up by the officers, the object of which was to state their grievances to Lord Minto, and to solicit him to recommend to the Court of Directors that they should be placed on the same footing in respect of allowances as their brethren of the Bengal Army. This fact was communicated by General Macdowall to Sir George Barlow, who at once ordered the proceedings to be stayed. The General, indeed, himself suggested that a general order should be issued,

prohibiting the transmission of the memorial; and a circular letter to the different regiments was issued accordingly in his name. But whilst, in his official character, he was thus stifling the free expression of opinion, he was privately doing everything to encourage it. He told the officers with whom he communicated that his circulars were merely official, written at the request of Government; and he did not hesitate at his own dinner-table to speak in a disrespectful and contemptuous manner of the Government he served, and to express his sympathy with the hostile sentiments of the officers both towards Sir George Barlow and the Court of Directors.

Though all through the year 1808 the discontent of the Madras Army had been thus fermenting, there had been up to the very close of it no open rupture, no public scandal. The reductions had been carried out. But for these reductions, however unpalatable to the officers whom they affected, Sir George Barlow was not responsible. He was simply the instrument of an unpopular measure. He obeyed the orders of the higher authorities, under the assurance that if he did not, they would be carried out by others, and, perhaps, in a severer manner;* but, in doing so, he pointed out the injury which they would inflict, and suggested the means of partial compensation. It was hoped that the proposal to grant certain additional fixed allowances in the place of these lucrative contracts would allay the discontent which the

* "From what I have seen of Sir George Barlow, I have no doubt that we shall go on smoothly, and we are, indeed, already on the best footing. You know that his great object is reduction (of expenditure); but the orders which he has received from home make it quite impossible for him to do otherwise. He has been plainly told that the thing must be done; and that if it is not done here the Court of Directors will take the pruning-knife (that is the expression) into their own hands—an alternative which it is certainly desirable to avert. On the whole, the retrenchments which he has made have clearly not come from himself—at least in many cases—but have been forced upon him by positive orders from home."—[*Mr. Secretary Buchan to Colonel Malcolm; May* 1, 1808.]

abolition of the latter had created. Barlow, indeed, was moved by so strong a desire to act not only justly, but generously towards the officers of the Madras Presidency, that he exceeded in his recommendations the line prescribed by the Supreme Government for the general regulation of the allowances of the army.*

But the new year came, pregnant with great results. Affairs were rapidly reaching a crisis. The recommendations of Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, for the abolition of the tent-contracts had been supported by certain arguments of a general character, which most unprejudiced men will now admit to be sound. It was presumed, however, that they contained a reflection upon the character of the officers; and although the communication was in reality a confidential one, the substance of it was in time made public. The adjutant-general, Colonel Capper, was a friend of General Macdowall. He circulated the obnoxious paragraphs in Munro's report. Some of the senior officers believing, as I have said, that they were reflected upon, then appealed to the Commander-in-Chief, and clamored for a court-martial—

* "We go on as quietly as possible at this Presidency. There is, I understand, some grumbling, in consequence of the reduction of the bazaar allowances and the tent-contract; and I believe that there is an address preparing among some of the Company's officers to the Supreme Government, soliciting to be put on an equality of allowances with the officers of Bengal. The proposition has, however, I understand, been rejected by all the King's regiments, and by one or two in terms of great judgment and propriety. Such a measure is quite impossible, as it would entail such an insupportable burden on the finances of this Government as to make it at once better to renounce the country to any power that would take it. I have little doubt that we shall hear no more of the matter when an arrangement is out that is now preparing for improving the situations of officers commanding regiments and Government stations. The intention is to give full batta to officers commanding corps in peace, and superior full batta in the field; to allow superior full batta to officers holding Government commands; and to give brigadiers' allowances to the senior officers at all stations where two corps are assembled. Sir George Barlow has viewed this matter in a very proper light, and, being satisfied of the propriety of the measure, he intends to exceed, in a considerable degree, the line which was laid down by the Supreme Government regarding the allowances of this army."—[*Mr. Secretary Buchan to Colonel Malcolm; June* 5, 1808.]

not to investigate their own conduct, but Munro's. Upon this, Macdowall placed the quartermaster-general under arrest. About the same time, a memorial to the Court of Directors from the officers of the Coast Army was forwarded to Government by General Macdowall, in direct violation of his own orders—a memorial which, among other grievances to be redressed, called for the appointment to Council of the Commander-in-Chief, as "the representative of the Army." These were blows struck at the local Government to which a man of Sir George Barlow's courageous temper was not likely to submit in patience. Colonel Munro was released from arrest, and General Macdowall removed from his command. Then the General issued a farewell address to the army, and a general order, censuring Colonel Munro—both of them couched in language calculated to increase the excitement which pervaded military society. The Adjutant and Deputy-Adjutant-General, both vehement partisans, published the obnoxious order, and were suspended by Government for the act.*

The irritation of the army now became extreme. Capper and Boles were regarded as martyrs to a righteous cause. A subscription was got up to remunerate the latter for the loss of his allowances; and an address of sympathy and commendation was presented to him by his brother-officers. Another memorial, also, was addressed to Lord Minto, calling upon the Governor-General not only to redress the grievances of which they complained, but to remove the Governor who had so wronged and insulted them. Such proceedings as these could not pass unnoticed. On the 1st of May, Sir George Barlow issued an order, condemning the conduct of the misguided officers, and suspending some of those who

* It was signed by the Deputy, Major Boles; but the Adjutant-General, Colonel Capper, boasted of his acquiescence in its contents.

had been foremost in their opposition to constituted authority. The order was received as an act of insulting tyranny; and the culminating point of excitement was reached.

Then followed seditious meetings; violent discussions; inflammatory appeals to the army; and insulting letters to Sir George Barlow.* There are men now living who look back with astonishment—almost with incredulity—to that period of mutinous excitement. At many of the large army-stations the officers of the Company's regiments avowed themselves ready for any act of daring revolt. They encouraged one another in treason. They talked of fighting against a tyrannical Government in defence of their rights to the last drop of their blood. Seditious toasts were given at the mess-tables and drunk with uproarious applause. From day to day tidings went forth from one excited station to another—tidings of progressive insubordination, which fortified with assurances of sympathy and support the insane resolves of the scattered mutineers. The arrival of every post raised a fever of expectancy. Letters from the disaffected cantonments were eagerly read and instantly circulated. The moral intoxication pervaded all ranks, from the colonel to the ensign. The evil stimulant worked apace. The accumulated bile and bitterness wanted an outlet. If the goddess Cloacina, in the shape of a Free Press, had been at hand, all might have gone well. But there was no such safety-valve in existence. One officer made the experiment; but the loyal editor sent the letter to Sir George Barlow.

* Take, for example, the following passage of a letter to Sir George—one of many similar productions before me:

"... Even the parties whom you have set in opposition will unite in execrating you, though it is not probable they will be agreed in any other sentiment. .... Do you wish it to be said of you, 'Sir George sacrificed the territories he governed, and all the English people in them, by making them butcher each other, rather than confess he had done wrong, though it was notorious he had done so?'"

Loud and inflated as was the talk—tremendous as were the denunciations uttered against Government at this time, they were not mere turgid menaces. The disaffected officers were in reality ripe for action. They were prepared to cast off the authority of the local Government, and to march at the head of their regiments to the Presidency to demand redress. They knew, as in most instances their men were prepared to follow them, that this might result in a bloody internecine war. For the contagion was not universal. There were regiments still true to constituted authority. There were officers who, in spite of the appeals of their comrades, addressed Sir George Barlow with assurances of support. The King's corps, it was believed, would support Government. The threatened crisis was, therefore, nothing less tremendous than a war to be waged by one-half of the Madras Army against the other.

The two great centres of insurrection were Hyderabad and Masulipatam. Of the rebellious movements at the former place it is not necessary that, on this occasion, I should write much in detail. At the latter was posted the Company's one Madras European regiment. It was naturally a great point with the mutineers that this corps of Englishmen should be upon their side. There had never, indeed, been much doubt regarding the part that it would take. It had for some time been in a state of relaxed discipline. The officers were disaffected, and they had communicated the spirit of discontent to their men. An address, distinguished by unpardonable indiscretion, which General Macdowall had delivered after an inspection of the regiment, had increased the ill feeling against Government. They had been taught by the Commander-in-Chief to believe that they had been thrust into a remote corner, and purposely left there to rust away in obscurity and inaction. The feeling of dis-

affection was shared by the other officers, and in the spring of 1809 it might have been said that there was not a loyal soul in all the force at Masulipatam.

It was whilst the garrison was in this temper, and, encouraged by the Hyderabad subsidiary force, ready to break out into open mutiny, that Colonel Innes arrived, early in May, to take command of the European regiment. He appears to have been a man of unimpeachable loyalty, of good intentions, but defective judgment. And he arrived only too well-prepared to find sedition in every word, and mutiny in every gesture. On the first evening, he was invited to dine with the officers of his new regiment. Several strangers were present on the occasion. Among the toasts given after dinner—those were toast-giving days—"The Friends of the Army" was one. There was a vagueness in the words, whatever the intent of the proposer, which rendered them harmless enough to satisfy the most loyal nature in the country. But it is a significant proof of the excitement which inflamed men's minds in that conjuncture, and confounded the judgments alike of the loyal and the disloyal, that Colonel Innes recoiled from the toast. He had heard that seditious toasts were sometimes given at the Mess, and detecting sedition in "The Friends of the Army," he proposed to drink "The Madras Army" in its place. The amendment was not acceptable, and was not accepted. So the Colonel rose and quitted the room. The toast was then drunk with acclamation; and as the noise of the loud huzzas reached his ears, he believed that the members of the Mess were hooting in derisive honor of his departure.

A connexion with a regiment, commenced at such a time under such circumstances, could only have had one result. The Madras European regiment was soon in a state of internal as of external mutiny. It was at war

with Government and at war with itself. It is unnecessary to relate all the circumstances attending the rupture between Colonel Innes and his officers. They assumed many different complications, and at last drew from the Colonel, apparently on the strength of a communication from higher authority, a threat that the regiment should be disbanded. It happened that, at this inopportune season, orders were received from the Presidency for the embarkation of a certain number of men of the European regiment, duly officered, on board one of the King's frigates, to act as marines.* The intent of this measure was at once misconstrued. Some believed, others pretended to believe, that this was but the first step towards the breaking up of the corps. The ferment then became extreme. Innes was warned of the danger of carrying out the orders of Government; but he would not be deterred from the execution of his duty by any mutinous threats. He declared his intention of obeying the instructions he had received. So the regiment rose against him to a man. They called in an officer† from a Native battalion to take command of the corps; declared Colonel Innes under arrest; placed sentries over him, and held him in personal restraint.

This was on the 25th of June. On the 1st of July, intelligence of this outrage reached Madras. Malcolm had then been for some weeks at the Presidency. He had been in constant communication with Sir George Barlow and all the higher civil and military officers of the State. His opinions he had freely expressed. He had many correspondents at the large army-stations, and

* This was not unusual in those days. The service had previously been performed by the King's troops; but orders had come from the Horse Guards prohibiting such employment of his Majesty's soldiers, except in cases of extreme emergency.

† Major Storey.

he knew both what was the extent of the disaffection,* and what was expected from his personal exertions.† He saw that Sir George Barlow was not fully alive to the real proportions of the danger which threatened the State; that the orders of the 1st of May had exasperated, not overawed the army; and that the feeling among the principal officers was, that they had so far committed themselves, that it was almost impossible to recede. There were those who argued that having gone so far, firmness was "the only salvation of the army."‡ The hope then entertained by Government that the storm was dispersing itself, was clearly a delusion. They spoke approvingly of the better temper of the Hyderabad force,

* Take, for example, the following from a Jaulnah letter: "Be assured that I have had many opportunities of observing the sentiments of the officers of the army in general; and rely upon it, Malcolm, that at this present moment a greater and more general sensation is prevalent than even you are aware of. The publication of the late order to the subsidiary force has occasioned a general emotion; and was either, I fear, suggested by some person who wished to assume a degree of credit with Government that he was not entitled to, or prompted by some evil genius. It savors too much of the '*Divide et impera*;' and that it has been so considered, the late address to the Commander-in-Chief (which has, I understand, been forwarded from the officers at Secunderabad) must be considered as a convincing proof."—[*Colonel Doveton to Colonel Malcolm, June* 16, 1809.]

† "Your conduct in embarking in the stormy sea is worthy of you, and what must have been expected by all those who are at all acquainted with your mind. I would have no half measures. Every Government has a right to call for the abilities of those characters on whom they can confide in times like the present, and I should be almost inclined to pronounce that man a traitor to his country who refused to obey such a call. . . . . I consider your arrival one of the most fortunate possible circumstances for Sir George Barlow's Government, and I have every reason to suppose that such is the concurring sentiment of the army in general."—[*Colonel Doveton to Colonel Malcolm, June* 18, 1809.]

‡ Take, for example, the following, addressed to Malcolm by Colonel Scott: "The extremity to which the army has at last had recourse is doubtless to be deplored. But having commenced, you must be sensible that firmness becomes the only salvation of the army. That or Sir George Barlow (not the Government) must sink or swim; and I must still confess myself sufficiently the friend of the army to hope that it may swim. Nay, I will confess to you further, that even if I were convinced that I were wrong, I would not now desert the cause which I have espoused, or the principles which I have avowed; and I declare that if opposition to the Coast Army were to take place, and I, as a Government officer, were called upon to act against them, I would resign my appointment and live or die with my brother-officers."

and the Hyderabad force flung back the approbation into the face of Government with scorn.

But now, on the 1st of July, the whole painful truth broke rudely upon the statesmen of the Coast. On that day Malcolm went by invitation to Sir George Barlow's garden-house, in the pleasant suburbs of Madras; for on that day the Governor had received from the Hyderabad force a disrespectful remonstrance, calling upon him in peremptory language to annul the orders of the 1st of May. From Masulipatam also on that day had arrived intelligence of the outrage of which I have spoken. Malcolm's advice was eagerly sought. There was a long and animated discussion. He recommended that an officer of rank should be despatched at once to the latter place, to take the command of the European regiment and the garrison, and that a letter should be sent to the Commandant of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, pointing out the dangerous tendency of such addresses, and the impossibility of complying with their requests; and, at the same time, instructing a general caution to be conveyed to the officers of the force, warning them of the certain ruin which would result from their perseverance in such a course of procedure.* To this Sir George Barlow assented. But who was to be sent to Masulipatam? Malcolm knew that the duty was one which could not be regarded with much complacency by any officer in the army—that such a command would be shrunk from rather than sought. So he did what every reader of this narrative will be prepared to read of his doing: he offered to go himself to the scene of trouble; and the offer was at once accepted. It was agreed that he should sail on the following day. There was no time to draft instructions; but the whole subject was fully discussed

* Colonel Close was afterwards sent to take command of the Subsidiary Force.

in all its bearings. Malcolm believed that the Governor thoroughly understood his views, and placed the utmost confidence in his discretion. It subsequently, however, came to be matter of poignant regret that he had gone forth on this dangerous mission without the written orders of the Government he represented.

For Malcolm's views, as it will presently appear, differed greatly from those of Sir George Barlow. He knew that the army was dissatisfied. He knew that it had long been dissatisfied, and not without reason. The abolition of the tent-contracts was only a crowning grievance. In all parts of the world men require an adequate motive to exertion. In India it is especially required. The sacrifices which a man makes in leaving his native country are not small. The sources of discontent and despondency are many. Perhaps in two words, Profit and Honor, the sum and substance of all incentive are contained. The officers of the Indian army looked for the means of comfortable retirement in old age: but the emoluments of their profession had been dwindling down before their eyes, until it seemed to be the sole wish of their masters to ascertain how much of retrenchment and reduction they could bear without an outbreak of open mutiny. The profits of the service were fast disappearing; and the honors had never appeared. In those days, indeed, the Company's officer knew nothing of honor but that which he carried about in his own breast. Fifteen years before, Malcolm had emphatically pointed out the invidious distinctions which kept the service to which he belonged in a continual state of degradation. But the Company's officers were still the Pariahs, the King's officers the Brahmins, of the service. All the honorary distinctions for which the soldier yearns were religiously guarded against the profane touch of the Pariahs by the fiery sword of Privilege.

It might happen, as had happened in the case of Malcolm, of Close, and one or two others, that reputation might be gained for the Company's officer by a career of successful diplomacy. But to the general body of the army this was no consolation. To the soldier nothing was conceded; and it was into the soldier's breast that, from one end of India to the other, the shame of this exclusion was burning.* .

All his adult life long Malcolm had been keenly alive to this the great reproach of his order. For years he had heard, growing louder and louder, the groan which spoke the discontent of his comrades. He knew that they had just grounds of complaint, and he sympathised largely with their sufferings; but now that their wrongs declared themselves in language violent, disloyal, seditious, and in acts no less violent, disloyal, and seditious, there was no longer any community of feeling between them. He could see nothing to justify the outrages they had committed. But remembering the circumstances out of which the unhappy state of things had arisen, and believing that there was much good and loyal feeling still left in the Coast Army, he thought that it would be more just and more expedient to endeavour to win the recusants back to their allegiance by mild and conciliatory measures, than to dragoon them into obedience by acts of overawing severity.

With these feelings Malcolm undertook the mission to Masulipatam. If in the difficult work which lay before him he thought that he might trust somewhat not only to the inherent force, but to the prestige also of his personal character, I think that it was an honest pride, a

* See letter to Colonel Close, quoted *ante*, page 393. This part of the argument applied to the whole Indian army. But the Coast Army had an especial complaint on the score of their pecuniary allowances, which were inferior to those enjoyed by the Bengal officers.

noble self-reliance that sustained him. He was an officer of the Coast Army of whose services that army was naturally proud. No member of it had a higher reputation. But beyond this, Malcolm knew that he was held in esteem as a man of a genial nature, and a frank, manly character. He believed that he might be received in a friendly manner, where men of more stately habits and of colder temperament, more addicted to the specialities of red tape, would be rejected with scorn and indignation. Still, there was difficulty and danger in the work which lay before him. He was going to face a body of men highly excited and exasperated by the past acts of Government, with a commission from that Government to place himself in command of them, and hold them in control. It was a task which required for its due fulfilment an equal amount of high courage and sound judgment. Of the former, no man in India possessed a larger share than Malcolm. The latter did not often fail him; but he was a man of quick and generous impulse; sanguine temperament; strong sympathies; and prompt action. It was, perhaps, in consistence with such a character as his to regard a question too exclusively in one point of view, and to shape his conduct in accordance with the limited aspects thus presented to him. He had mixed largely with men, and he had considerable knowledge of mankind—but he knew more of the better than of the worse side of humanity; and he sought to govern men through their good feelings rather than through their bad. If this were an error, it is very possible to err also on the other side; and I would rather go wrong in the sunshine than in the shade.

Such were the sentiments with which Malcolm regarded the great and painful question to the practical solution of which he was about to address himself. He was a man of a most unreserved nature—never chary

of discourse. He freely declared his opinions to men of all ranks. He had, ever since his arrival at Madras, been recommending the adoption of conciliatory measures.* And now that he had received his commission to proceed to Masulipatam, he spoke in the same open, undisguised manner of the sentiments with which he would embark on the duty before him. On the day on which this duty was entrusted to him, he had a warm discussion with some of the principal officers of the Staff, who insisted on the expediency of sending a body of King's troops to Masulipatam and the other rebellious stations, to attack and overawe the mutineers. One officer declared his belief that Malcolm was friendly to concessions which would degrade the character of the Government; and that unless he determined on sending the ringleaders of the Masulipatam mutiny under a guard to Madras, more harm than good would result from his mission. Angry and indignant, Malcolm fired up, and flung back the imputation with a warmth which well-nigh led to a personal encounter. The interference of friends prevented a collision; but it was plain to Malcolm that if such were the opinions of the principal councillors of the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, it was not improbable that measures would be adopted in his absence at variance with the course which he intended to pursue. So he went again to Sir George Barlow, stated what had passed, and urged the impossibility of his proceeding to Masulipatam if such opinions were endorsed by Government. "Sir G. Barlow," says Malcolm, in his account of this interview,

* He had proposed to Sir George Barlow, among other measures, to circulate and to obtain signatures to a Memorial, of a respectful but not too humiliating character, to be addressed by the officers of the army to the Madras Government; and he had prepared more than one draft of the proposed document. But Sir George Barlow, on consideration, disapproved of the plan.

"gave me at this second conference every assurance that could be given to satisfy my mind. He declared he would not listen to any such violent counsels as I had heard, that he gave me his entire confidence, and vested me with the fullest discretion to act in all respects as I thought proper in my endeavours to reclaim the deluded men to whom I was proceeding to reflection and duty, and that he was satisfied the honor of his Government was perfectly safe in my hands. He determined at this moment to return the address from Hyderabad, and to write a letter to the commanding officer of that force, in terms calculated to show his forbearance, and indeed to evince to the violent, misguided officers of that station the same temperate, conciliatory disposition as had led him to depute me to Masulipatam. He desired me to make a memorandum of what I conceived he should write upon this occasion. I instantly drew out a memorandum. With this Sir George Barlow was perfectly pleased, and desired me to give it the form of a letter, and deliver it to Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, that it might be despatched next day.* I did so, and carried the copy of the memorandum with me to Masulipatam."

"Sir George Barlow's desire then was," wrote Malcolm in another place, "to conciliate and reclaim the Company's army, not to render them desperate. I was particularly desired to point their views to England, to persuade them by every effort to await the decision of the Court of Directors, and to prevent their precipitating themselves into guilt from which they could never retreat.

* "Instead of sending this letter, the order for the march of a battalion from Hyderabad to Goa, in prosecution of the plan of dividing the Sepoy corps, was sent two days after my departure, and provoked, as was to be expected, open resistance and rebellion."—J. M.

Malcolm complained afterwards, that as he told the officers at Masulipatam that the memorandum would be sent to Hyderabad, the subsequent failure caused him to be charged with wilful deception. Such an imputation must have grievously annoyed him.

Sir George Barlow appeared satisfied that I could effect this through the influence of my general character and the power of reason, aided by the justice of the cause I had to support."

On the following day Malcolm crossed the Madras surf, and on the 4th of July he landed at Masulipatam. He found the garrison in an extreme state of excitement—nay more, "in a state of open and bold mutiny." They had made their preparations to march towards Hyderabad and effect a junction with the Subsidiary Force. We were on the eve, indeed, of a great internecine conflict, which might have overthrown the British empire in the East. The exasperation of the officers was greater even than Malcolm had anticipated, and his arrival at first increased it. Their first impulse was to resist his authority at all hazards. But he met the principal officers of the garrison at once, heard what they had to say, and argued the case fairly with them. It need not be said that the violence was upon their side—the reason upon his. They stated their grievances again and again, and declared that nothing would bring them back to their allegiance but a distinct assurance that their wrongs would be redressed. From all pledges and promises Malcolm resolutely abstained; but he spoke to them in a conciliatory spirit; he told them that they had erroneously and injuriously interpreted the temper of the Government under which they served, and that the surest means of obtaining redress for any real grievances resided in their return to loyalty and obedience. He told them that concessions extorted by threats of insurrection would have the effect of overthrowing the Government, and that to overthrow the Government would be to seal their own destruction. Little by little his arguments made their way at that excited meeting. During four long hours the strife of words continued.

But the violence gradually abated; and when the conclave broke up, Malcolm believed that he had brought his opponents to a juster view alike of their interests and their duties. But they would make no other acknowledgment than that if they consented to delay the execution of the extreme measures for which they were prepared, it was only in regard for the character and in consideration of the position of an officer whom they held in such great esteem. Malcolm, they declared, was the only officer of rank in India whom they would have admitted into the garrison at all.

This at least was something gained. But the ground on which he stood required to be trod with caution. Any hasty assertion of authority would, he felt, have marred his success. He did not, therefore, at once address the troops, or issue any explanatory orders. There was one measure, however, which he deemed it improper to defer for an hour. He instantly ordered Colonel Innes to be released from arrest. The sentries who had been placed over him were sent to their barracks.

On that evening Malcolm dined at the Mess of the European regiment. There the same trial awaited him as had been too much for Colonel Innes. Several strangers were present; and the party was a large one. After dinner the standing toasts were given; and among them the "Friends of the Army"—with three times three. There appeared to Malcolm no good reason why he should not join in such a toast. It was, he said, one of so general a character, that he was sure it included most men, both in India and in England. So he joined in the toast, and I doubt not swelled the chorus of applause. But a more formidable trial was before him. A gentleman at table sang a nautical song in which there were frequent allusions to some "common cause." The

words were eagerly caught at by some of the younger officers, who were flushed with wine; and presently, at their instigation, the whole party rose to drink "The Common Cause." For a moment—but only for a moment—Malcolm felt perplexed and embarrassed. With characteristic promptitude he rose, filled his glass to the brim, and in a loud, animated voice, exclaimed, "The Common Cause of our Country!" The amendment was accepted by all, and drunk with enthusiasm. Soon afterwards Malcolm rose to retire, but had scarcely quitted the room before his own health was proposed and drunk, three times three, with acclamation. "Thus closed," he wrote that night in his journal, "the most anxious day I ever passed in my life. May my efforts be successful in reclaiming these men from the errors into which they have plunged!"

On the following day, several of the officers waited on him at his residence, which was a garden-house outside the fort. The discussion of the preceding day was then resumed; and some obscure hints were thrown out that the garrison, if no assurances were given them, would cease to recognise Malcolm's authority. He told them that they knew little of his character if they thought he would make any pledges which the Government had not authorised, or be deterred from doing his duty by any threats. But they parted in good humor, and again Malcolm felt, that if he had done nothing else, he had gained time. He was now acting on Mackintosh's sound advice,* and he felt that, in such a conjuncture, time was everything to the cause of Government. But he clearly saw the extent of the danger; and he wrote to Sir George Barlow, emphatically urging upon him the expediency of adopting conciliatory measures:

* *Ante*, page 419.

"These deluded men," he wrote, "are aware of the ruin they are bringing upon themselves; but their infatuation is so great, that they are reconciled to their ruin, in the expectation that it will equally involve that Government against which their rage has been so industriously and so successfully excited. All attempts to reason with men in the state of mind they are in appears vain. Even the circulation of the able letter from Bengal is, as I apprehended, likely to inflame, instead of appeasing their passions. It is so true, that when men's minds have gone completely wrong, that which ought to put them right has, in general, a direct contrary effect: and the fact is, that all those correct principles and loyal feelings which are so eloquently expressed in the letter from the Supreme Government, but serve to impress them more forcibly with a sense of that guilt into which they have so precipitately rushed, and to render them more desperate in their proceedings, as they can (after what has passed, and particularly late events at this place) only see individual safety in all being equally involved in the deepest guilt. I entreat you to be persuaded that these sentiments are quite general; or, at least, that the few who do not entertain them have neither the means nor the courage to oppose their progress; and allow themselves, with an indefensible passiveness, to be borne along with the tide. Under such a state of circumstances, all hopes of this spirit of insurrection subsiding must be at an end. Some steps must instantly be taken; and no good can result from the application of any partial remedy. The disease is general, and the remedy must be so also. It remains with you to decide on the measures that are to be adopted. The first and most military, though not, perhaps, the most political, that suggests itself, is the employment of actual force. In such a contest, however, not only the means must be calculated, but the result; and, as far as I can judge, success, even in this extreme, would not save us from the most baneful consequences. It seems, therefore, not wise to have resort to such a measure, till every other that it is possible for Government to take, without the annihilation of its own power and dignity, has been tried and failed. Unqualified concession to the demands of the army, either in dismissing public servants of Government, or in rescinding its orders, would be a virtual resignation of its power, and cannot, therefore, be made. It would, indeed, be better and more honorable, if *matters were at the worst*, that Government should fall by any

hands than its own. Should Government not resolve on having immediate resort to force, one line only remains that could at the present moment afford a rational hope of the necessity of having recourse to that extreme being avoided, or at least of its being resorted to with advantage: which is, to meet the crisis at once, by a General Order to something of the following purport:

"'Government finds, with concern, that it can no longer indulge that sanguine hope which it once entertained, that the irritation which a variety of causes have combined to produce in the minds of the Company's army on the coast would subside; and as it is satisfied that the evils which must result from the existence of those combinations against its authority that are now formed in almost every station, will, if suffered to continue, be as injurious to the public interests as if those by whom these proceedings are carried on were in a state of open hostility to Government; it feels compelled to anticipate every extreme that can occur, and to publish to the army at large the final resolutions which it has adopted under this extraordinary and unparalleled situation of affairs: and these resolutions will, it is satisfied, be found to combine as much attention to the feelings of the army as it is possible to show without a sacrifice of the public interest, and an abandonment of the authority and dignity of Government. The Governor in Council can and does make every possible allowance for feelings so strongly excited as those of the officers of the Coast Army have been, and is disposed to refer that great agitation of mind into which they have been thrown by a concurrence of causes which must greatly mitigate, if they do not altogether extenuate, that degree of criminality which must always attach to such proceedings; and, under such impressions, he can view their extreme solicitude regarding those of their brother-officers whom he has thought it his duty to suspend the service, with that consideration which is due to a highly meritorious body of officers, acting under the strong impulse of warm and honorable, but mistaken feelings. And with such sentiments he cannot deem it derogatory to Government to state that he intends, in the full confidence that the officers of the Coast Army will abandon their present dangerous course of proceeding, to recommend to the Honorable the Court of Directors the restoration to the service of those officers whose suspension, and the reasons which led to it, have been reported to them, and who are consequently the only authority by which

that act can be repealed: and he can have no doubt but the earnest desire of their brother-officers, combined with the high character which most of the officers under suspension formerly held, will induce the Honorable Court to overlook their late conduct, and comply with this recommendation. Acting upon the same principle, Government is pleased to appoint Colonel Bell to the charge of the battalion of artillery at the Mount, and Colonel Chalmers to the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore. Lieutenant Maitland is appointed quartermaster of the European regiment of infantry.

"'The committee of inquiry ordered to assemble at Masulipatam is repealed; and no act, either of any body, or of individual officers in the Company's service, of which no cognizance has yet been taken, and which occurred before the present date, will be made subject of future notice, or even operate to the disadvantage of such body of officers or individuals, unless they should, by a perseverance in the same course, and a repetition of the same conduct, forfeit all claim to such lenity and consideration at a moment when Government has taken such steps to tranquillise the agitated minds of the army, and to leave even the most mistaken without a plea for perseverance in their present dangerous course. It must declare its positive and final resolution neither to alter nor modify this proceeding. It will yield no more to the entreaties or demands of the army; and if any officers are so infatuated, and so lost to every consideration of the public good and the general prosperity of their country, as not immediately, on the promulgation of this order, to abandon their present course of proceeding, Government must, however much it may deprecate such an extreme, meet it with that firmness and courage which becomes a constituted authority of the empire of Great Britain. It has contemplated this possible, though, it trusts, highly improbable event; and the different officers entrusted with command are directed, should any spirit of turbulence and insubordination appear among the officers of the troops under their command, to punish the individuals with all the severity of martial law. And should the operation of the regular course of justice be impeded, either by a combination among the officers or men, such will instantly be proclaimed rebels against the legal authority of Government and their country; as Government is perfectly satisfied that the public interests will receive more injury from any effort to con-

ciliate men who persevere (after what has passed) in principles so opposite to the restoration of order and discipline, than it ever can meet from them as open enemies to their King and country.'

"I am aware that a thousand objections may be made to an order of this nature; but it must only be tried by the times; matters have arrived at such a crisis, that something decided must instantly be done. There is not an hour for delay. And what I have suggested is only the first proclamation in a war that seems to me, even with this step, almost unavoidable. If human means could avoid it, this act will; for it holds out every motive that can incline men to good and deter them from evil. It concedes, no doubt, in some points; but the case is urgent, and the spirit of concession is corrected by the firmness and resolution which is mixed with it. But your own mind will suggest everything. I am, as you know, devoted to the cause of my country. It will depend upon you where I am to act, if matters draw to an extreme. I should prefer my station at Mysore, as that in which I have most influence, and could, in consequence, contribute most to the support of the public interests. I cannot conclude without again entreating you not to allow yourself to be lulled into security, and to be satisfied of the absolute necessity of taking some step or another to save the State from the imminent danger to which it is exposed. But inaction, even dangerous as it is, may be better than the commencement of a coercive system, before steps have been taken to gain more friends to Government than it has at present in the army: and I confess I can see no mode of doing this but by a measure which is completely decided and final; and which, while it grants every indulgence even to erroneous feelings, looks to the close of this great question with a moderate and conciliatory, but a firm and manly spirit."

Whilst this letter was being conveyed to Madras, Malcolm was steadily pursuing what he regarded as the object of his mission. He believed that it was his duty to exert himself to the utmost to conciliate the deluded officers of the garrison, without in any way lowering the dignity of the Government which he represented. They endeavoured to wring from him promises and pledges which he would not yield. But he mixed freely with

them—freely used the language of exhortation and persuasion—and again and again pointed out the horrible results of the unnatural contest they were provoking. He saw that they were oscillating between two opinions. There was no stability in their resolutions. They were moved by the violent appeals of the Hyderabad force, and afraid, by any concessions, to appear as though they had deserted their comrades. It was this alliance which surrounded Malcolm's duty with so much difficulty and perplexity. "If this were only a mutiny of the garrison of Masulipatam," he wrote, "it would be an easy question; and I should be proud to hazard my life in an effort to quell it to-morrow morning; but one step of any description taken in this affair at the present moment would undoubtedly cause a general rise of the army; and it is, I conceive, of ultimate importance that you should know and prepare for this great political danger; and I have, consequently, labored incessantly, and I hope with success, to prevent its breaking out at this most inflammable of all quarters."

Malcolm knew how great a thing it was in such a crisis to gain time. And in this, at least, he succeeded. But for his arrival, the Masulipatam force would have marched early in January to join their brother-mutineers of Jaulnah and Secunderabad. They deferred their march, as they declared, solely from respect to Malcolm's personal character; and he was pleased to see, as time advanced, that they showed by their conduct an increased respect both for him and for themselves. They abstained on social occasions from intruding the painful subject upon him, and for a while ceased from their toasts. But he did not delude himself into the belief that these were any signs of a permanent restoration to loyalty and good feeling. There was no hope, indeed, of this, whilst every post brought letters from the other rebellious stations,

the intent and tendency of which were to inflame to the highest pitch the evil passions of the mutineers of Masulipatam. But he knew that Government were not inactive in the direction of Hyderabad, and he felt that if he could hold back the garrison under his command, even for a time, the threatened combination might be entirely prevented.

In the mean while, he sought a favorable opportunity of addressing the European regiment. An appeal to the men against their officers he held to be a measure as little justifiable in principle, as it was likely to be successful in practice. "The garrison here," he wrote to Sir George Barlow, "is not more than 1100 effective men (exclusive of the artillery); and if an effort had been successful to detach the men from their officers, who are, to a man, combined against Government, it would not have prevented the explosion; it would but have increased that despair and madness which are impelling men to these acts of disobedience: and no partial benefit that could have arisen would have counterbalanced the general effect of this measure. Besides, I cannot speak with confidence of the success of this attempt: the *men even* of this garrison have been already debauched from their duty; and as it has been hitherto my object to reclaim the officers to their allegiance, and at all events to delay the execution of their plans, it was incompatible with the success of such a line of conduct to attempt to sound their men, or to make any private efforts to shake their attachment to their officers. Such attempts would have produced an instant open mutiny: and this, for causes before stated, I was anxious to avoid. Besides, such an expedient would have been baneful to the service, and was not to be resorted to while a hope remained of reclaiming the officers to a sense of their duty."

But an opportunity soon occurred of feeling the pulse

of the regiment. On the 14th of July, a regimental court-martial sentenced four men to be flogged. Early on the following morning, when the punishment-parade was assembled, and the crimes and sentences had been read, Malcolm, in that impressive moment, when even the sturdiest heart begins to sicken, addressed the men forming that terrible hollow-square in the following emphatic words:

"Regiment! As this is the first time I have met you upon such an occasion, I forgive these men: but I desire you will not mistake the motives of this act of lenity. It is my intention, as it is my duty, to enforce the strictest discipline: and I must punish those that merit it, not only to maintain the character of the corps, but to enable me to grant indulgences to the good men of it, which I never can do unless I punish the bad: but I trust, from what I have seen of your conduct, I shall have little occasion to exercise severity. It is, indeed, you must all feel, most incumbent upon you to preserve the utmost regularity and order at the present period. A late occurrence in the regiment, which has, I am satisfied, been solely produced by misapprehension and misrepresentation, is on the point of becoming a subject of investigation before a military court, who will inquire into the causes by which it was produced. I shall, therefore, say nothing on that subject: but I consider it my duty to declare to you at this moment, that it never was in the contemplation of Government to disband or disperse this corps, and that it never meant to employ any officer or man of the regiment in any manner or upon any service but such as was suited to the honor and character of British soldiers, and which it, of course, conceived both officers and men would be forward to proceed upon. It was, soldiers, from a full conviction that a serious misunderstanding alone of the intentions of Government could have caused what has passed, that made me receive with pride and gratification my nomination to the command of this regiment: and I am convinced, from what I have already seen, that I shall (whenever I quit that station) have to make a report which will add, if possible, to the high reputation which the corps already enjoys, and satisfy all, that as it is the first in rank of the infantry of this establishment, it is also first in fidelity,

loyalty, and attachment to the Government it serves, and to its King and country."

The address was favorably received. Malcolm had been only waiting for an opportunity thus publicly to declare that Government had never entertained an idea of disbanding the regiment. It was thought afterwards that the declaration ought to have been made before; but it is not easy at a distance to compute all those nice circumstances and delicate considerations which, in such a conjuncture, make up the sum of a fitting opportunity. The right thing done at the wrong time may be the wrong thing. Malcolm felt confident that he did the right thing at the right time.

In the mean while answers to his first letters were travelling up from Madras. Simultaneously with his appointment to the command of the European regiment and the garrison of Masulipatam he had been nominated president of a committee appointed to inquire into the circumstances under which Colonel Innes had been forcibly removed from the command of the corps. The two other members who were to have accompanied or immediately followed him to Masulipatam fell sick; so Malcolm, in the first letter he received from Government, was authorised to prosecute the inquiry by himself. In this letter he was commended for the measures he had adopted on his first arrival; but the next letter indicated that Sir George Barlow was not disposed to adopt the conciliatory course of conduct which Malcolm had recommended. "Sir George Barlow," wrote the Military Secretary, "desires me to express to you his thanks for the very unreserved manner in which you have communicated to him your opinion of this important subject. After the maturest consideration, he cannot satisfy his mind of the policy of the course of measures which you

have recommended for his adoption. You have, indeed, been long apprised of the sentiments of Sir George Barlow with regard to that course of policy; and the information which you have now communicated to him, instead of altering these sentiments, has confirmed him in his opinion of the necessity of maintaining the authority of the Government with unshaken firmness and resolution."

This letter was written on the 12th of July. It reached Malcolm on the 17th. It was plain to him now, either that he and Sir George Barlow were hopelessly at variance, or that they did not understand one another. One thing, however, was certain. Malcolm was in possession of information relative to the feelings and intentions of the mutinous officers, with which, in all its length and breadth, the Governor of Madras was not acquainted; and as it was probable, in Malcolm's estimation, that a fuller knowledge of all these circumstances would cause Barlow to modify his views, he wrote off at once to suggest the expediency of personal communication:

"If I did not consider," he said, "the present as one of the most serious crises that ever this empire was placed in, I certainly should not again intrude myself on your notice; but I feel bold in the consciousness that I am performing a duty of the most sacred nature; and you will, I am assured, pardon the earnestness with which I solicit leave to be allowed to report to you personally the result of the proceedings here, and of all I have seen or heard connected with the general combination in the army, as well as those means by which I think it may be averted, or its objects, if it does not occur, in some degree defeated. It is quite impossible for me to convey to you in any letter the extensive information I now possess upon this subject; and I should only be four days in going to Madras, and could return, if required, with equal celerity. Little time would be lost by my making this journey; and I feel satisfied its results might be of the utmost consequence to the

public interests. Major-General Pater will be here the day after to-morrow; and no inconvenience could result from the want of a high military authority; but I would not of course proceed, if I thought that there was any urgent call for my remaining here. But such a trip would, I am assured, tend to calm instead of irritating men's minds; as they would suppose that I had gone to make a full representation of all that had passed and all that I have observed. I entreat you to pay attention to this earnest request; and if you do that, you will order Colonel Barclay to station bearers as far as Migool. I shall lay them to that place in the confidence that your kindness will not deny this opportunity of endeavouring to promote the public interests by important communications."

But although Sir George Barlow scouted the idea of conciliatory measures, there were many able and experienced officers who believed that only such measures could be applied with success to the existing evil. No man had more friends, or a wider circle of correspondents, than Malcolm. No sooner had it become apparent that violent convulsions were threatening to disorganise the whole body of the Coast Army, than Malcolm, in default of the possibility of bringing his direct personal influence to bear upon more than one place at the same time, scattered about in every direction his epistolary appeals to the good sense and the good feelings of his comrades and friends. From Masulipatam, too, he wrote frequent letters of this description, which he showed to the officers of the garrison. The more violently disposed of the Hyderabad conspirators, alarmed by his appearance at Masulipatam, wrote to caution their brother-rebels against Malcolm, whom they described as a thorough diplomatist, and a man of such consummate address that he would detach them from the good cause before they were aware of it. But there were others who wrote to Malcolm himself in a widely different strain, declaring

emphatically their belief that the happiest results would flow from Malcolm's mission, and the conciliatory course of conduct which he proposed to pursue.*

But whether these anticipations were right or wrong, such were not the views of Sir George Barlow—such was not the line of proceeding which *he* believed to be the line of duty. General Pater arrived at Masulipatam, and Malcolm took post for Madras. Starting on the 22nd of July, he made another of his rapid palanquin-journeys, and reached the Presidency on the 26th. He saw at once that during his absence other councils had prevailed—nay, more, that in the estimation of Government he had wholly missed the mark of success. Sir George Barlow received him coldly, and discussed his conduct disapprovingly; and, after that first interview, closed his doors against him for ever. A totally opposite system of policy was now on the ascendant. Barlow

* One officer of rank wrote to him: "I am sanguine that you will not meet with any unreasonable opposition to the conciliatory but sound arguments which your own understanding, your knowledge of mankind, and your own feelings will suggest to you. I felt no small degree of satisfaction in perusing the General Order appointing you to the regiment; because I truly anticipate the happiest termination to the discontent which now agitates the whole army. And matters appear to me now to have been carried to such an extreme, that it would be as easy to turn the stream of the Godavery to the north-west as to succeed by a system of compulsion and terror to dissuade the captains and subalterns of the Coast Army (even if unassisted by the field-officers, which is not the case) against feeling a disposition to resist what they conceive to be great injuries. Nothing now remains but measures of a conciliatory nature."

Another of Malcolm's correspondents thus wrote regarding the good effects which he anticipated from the circulation of Malcolm's letters: "The horrid intelligence to which I alluded was the solemn determination of the officers of the Subsidiary Force at Secunderabad, as well as at Jaulnah, to march to the support of the officers at Masulipatam, should Government attempt to use force against them—and which intelligence I had been made acquainted with in a very extraordinary manner. I immediately made known the contents of your letter to me to all parties here, and I am happy to say that it is a subject of universal congratulation. Indeed, I think I may venture to prognosticate that if Sir George will only persevere in the plan he has now adopted, his friends and supporters will daily increase, and the wild and dreadful schemes of his opponents be completely frustrated. Remember that the whole army have their eyes now fixed on you and affairs in your quarter. I am certain that you will, and the happiest results may be expected." Other letters to a like effect might be quoted.

had determined to dragoon down insurrection—to show the misguided officers the danger of arraying themselves against constituted authority; and already had he begun to strike panic and disorder into their ranks. The crisis, indeed, was a fearful one. It demanded the highest resolution to manage it aright. Looking back, coolly and dispassionately, after the lapse of nearly half a century, at this momentous epoch, we may still hesitate to decide whether (viewed without regard to the event) the policy recommended by Malcolm or that pursued by Barlow were, at the time, the wiser of the two. Either course, in such a conjuncture, might well have had its advocates. The verdict of the higher authorities was on the side of Barlow; for the event fully justified the act. His policy, too, had a higher merit than that of success. It was distinguished by the firmest courage, under the pressure of circumstances which, without disgrace, might have appalled the stoutest heart in the country.

It is matter of history that Sir George Barlow called upon the officers of the Madras army to sign a declaration of loyalty, under a penalty of dismissal from all command if they refused compliance with the test; that he ordered all the Native officers of the army to be assembled, and full explanations made to them of the circumstances under which this test had been submitted to the European officers; that at the same time it was to be impressed upon them and the Native troops generally that their first duty was to the Government, and that to follow their misguided officers would be to compass their own destruction; and that Barlow resolutely determined, should opposition be made to these orders, to march the loyal part of the army (and he could rely upon the King's troops to a man) against their rebellious comrades. It is matter of history how these measures were

successful in the southern part of the Presidency; how the King's and Company's troops were actually brought into bloody collision at Seringapatam; and how Colonel Close was despatched to Hyderabad, fortified by instructions, and armed with authority from Government, to bring the Subsidiary Force to order and obedience.

When Malcolm arrived at Madras these measures were yet in progress of execution, and the result of them was uncertain. He did not believe that they would succeed. He could not conscientiously bring himself either to express approbation of such a policy or to take any part in its practical development. He desired, therefore, to retire from the scene. The field of Persian diplomacy was again open to him. Lord Minto had written that the course of events in that country seemed now to render it expedient that Malcolm should proceed thither without delay. So on the 1st of August the latter wrote the following respectful, but manly letter to the Governor, asking permission to withdraw from a scene in which he could no longer be useful to the State:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

(*Private and confidential.*)

Madras, Aug. 1, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I have this day transmitted a report of the result of my investigation into the conduct of the garrison of Masulipatam to Major-General Gowdie, and an official statement to you of my proceedings at that place. I trust both these letters will meet with your approbation, and that you will see in them the same anxious desire that I have ever shown to satisfy my superiors that I have discharged my public duties to the best of my ability.

I have received another letter from Lord Minto since I had the honor of seeing you, informing me that Sir Harford Jones has not left Teheran, but that circumstance has only confirmed his Lordship regarding the necessity of my immediate mission to Persia,

and he has actually sent a letter to the King, by Mr. Jukes, to inform his Majesty of his intention of deputing me to his Court, and I am to proceed the moment an answer is received, which will probably be early in October. Under such circumstances I trust you will have no objection to my proceeding immediately to Calcutta, as it is indispensable I should see Lord Minto before I go to Persia; and, from the state of the season, I cannot go at all without losing several months.

I cannot but have been flattered by the confidence which you have always shown me, and your conduct in this particular demands from me a candid and full private declaration of every sentiment by which my mind is actuated in a crisis like the present; and it is a sense of this obligation alone that could make me think it necessary to intrude at such a period a subject of so personal a nature upon your attention. I must, therefore, with the same freedom with which your kindness has always allowed me to express my sentiments, declare that, urgent as I consider the service that requires me to go to Calcutta, I would not think of requesting your leave to proceed there if I had the most distant idea that I could be of the slightest use by remaining in this quarter; but I am quite convinced I cannot. No man is more aware of the imperious nature of public duty than I am, and while I remain a public servant no consideration upon earth would induce me to swerve from the path of personal respect and of implicit obedience to that constituted authority of my country under which I am placed; but the large and important duties I have to perform demand more than this—they require a warm, active, and devoted zeal, and a perfect accord in the mind of the agent with the measures he has to execute; and no officer that fills a high and confidential situation, whatever may be his experience or his ability, is fit to be employed in such times as the present unless all his sentiments are in unison with those of the superior under whom he acts. This is a principle by which my conduct has been regulated ever since I was elevated to the rank I now hold in the public service. I had occasion to express it upon a very trying occasion to Lord Wellesley, and it was honored with his fullest approbation. I acted upon it in consequence of being informed I should be called upon to execute certain measures under the administration of the late Marquis Cornwallis; and when you succeeded to the supreme government you were far

from censuring the line I had adopted; and it is from this knowledge of your personal consideration to me that I feel emboldened to state, in that confidence with which I have always been required by you to communicate my opinions, that with the sentiments I entertain upon the course of action and policy now in progress, and its probable effects both upon the service of the Company and the public interests, that I am altogether unqualified to be a confidential or principal agent in any part of its execution. I entreat that you will not mistake the intent of the expression of this opinion. It is given to account to you for my personal conduct, and it is communicated in that spirit of unreserved confidence which your kindness has ever allowed me to use towards you; but I am far from arrogating to myself the most distant right to question either the expediency or policy of the line you are pursuing—your superior wisdom no doubt points out to you the measures that are most proper for the emergency, and you are fulfilling the high duties of your station when you act agreeably to the dictates of your own judgment; all I claim is your indulgence for my feelings, and a pardon for this free expression of my sentiments.

You are no stranger to that enthusiasm with which I embarked in the present scene, and whatever has been my success I am assured that you are satisfied I have not been deficient in zeal in the exertion of my humble endeavours to reclaim my brother-officers to temper and to the path of duty; and I indulged, to the very moment of my arrival at Madras from Masulipatam, a hope that this great object of your solicitude would be effected without having recourse to coercive measures, or, at least, that a great proportion of the officers of the Company's army (including almost all who had weight and influence with the men) would be recovered, and that the early submission of the rest would have been a certain consequence of the return of their seniors to their duty.

The highly criminal violence of the force at Hyderabad (which is known to the whole army to be guided by weak and wrong-headed men) has unfortunately precipitated a very different issue to that which I was so sanguine as to expect. That force has declared that they speak the sentiments of the whole, or at least those of a great proportion, of the Madras army, though it is evident at the moment they made such an assertion they could not have received an answer from any station to that absurd

paper which they term an *ultimatum*, which they have had the audacity to forward to Government, but which I conscientiously believe would (if it had been publicly promulgated) have been disowned and disclaimed by great numbers of the senior and most respectable officers at every station in the army. I can speak positively with regard to some, indeed all, of the senior officers of the garrison of Masulipatam upon this subject, and they have lately been considered as the most violent of the whole. I am far from meaning (such meaning would, indeed, be as contrary to that high respect I have ever entertained for your character as to the duties of my situation) to offer even an opinion on the wisdom and policy of that step which Government has lately adopted with the Company's officers of this establishment. The test these were required to sign was, as far as I understood it, a mere repetition of the obligations of the commission that every one of them held, and the only rational objection that could be made to it by men who were devoted to their duty, and who had never deviated from it in thought, word, and deed, was, that it was unnecessary; that it was, with regard to them at least, an act of supererogation, and one that had a taint of suspicion in it. These were, indeed, the feelings that passed in my mind when this paper was first put into my hands, but they were instantly subdued by a paramount sense of public duty, and I signed it to show (as far as my example could show) my perfect acquiescence in a measure which the Government I served had thought proper to adopt. But I am satisfied it was not the terms of this paper which led the great majority of the Company's officers, both in Camp and at the Mount, and in the garrison of Madras, to refuse their signatures; it was the manner in which it was presented, and the circumstances by which the whole proceeding was accompanied. The minds of the most honorable and of the most attached to Government and to their country revolted more at the mode than the substance of the act. They felt (perhaps erroneously) that they were disgraced, because the manner in which their consent was asked showed they were not in the least trusted; and this was, I am assured, one of the chief causes of their almost general rejection of this proposed test of fidelity. It appears to me of the greatest importance that you should be aware of every feeling that this proceeding excited, and it is in discharge of the duties of that friendship with which you have ever honored me that I have

stated my sentiments so freely upon this subject. I am very intimately acquainted with a great number of the officers of whom I speak. Some of them would, I am certain, have given their lives for Government at the very moment they refused to give a pledge which they thought, from the mode in which it was proposed, reflected upon their honor; and others, who had unfortunately gone to a certain extent in the late culpable and unmilitary proceedings, but who viewed the criminal excesses of some of their brother-officers with undisguised horror and indignation, would, I am assured, if it had been possible for Government to have pardoned what was past, and to have expressed in indulgent language its kind intentions for the future, have been the most forward in their efforts to punish those who, by an unwarrantable perseverance in a guilty career, merited all the wrath of the State; but unfortunately (though such an intention, I am assured, never entered into your mind) an almost general sentiment prevailed that it was meant the service should be destroyed by the first blow, and that all were, therefore, included in one general mass as just objects of suspicion and disgrace.

I am far from defending such an interpretation of this measure of Government. I have only stated what I considered to be the fact, and explained, as far as I could, those causes by which I believe it to have been produced; their operation is, I fear, now almost irremediable, and events must take their course. I know (and my personal conduct has proved it) that my brother-officers are deeply wrong, and I am quite heart-broken when I reflect on the consequences to themselves and country which the guilt of some of them is likely to produce. I need not assure you of my sincere happiness at the success which has hitherto attended the execution of the measure you have adopted, and I anxiously hope it may meet with no opposition. I have never doubted the success of this measure (if it was resorted to) as far as related to the accomplishment of its immediate object, and most earnestly pray that my judgment may have deceived me with regard to the collateral and remote consequences by which I have always deemed it likely to be attended. It is necessary I should inform you that I applied, between three and four months ago, to Lord Minto for leave to go to England, and that nothing can induce me to remain beyond October except to fulfil a promise I made his Lordship to go to Persia if he thought it indispensable that I

should. Under such circumstances it can be no sacrifice of private interest to resign immediately my station as Resident at Mysore; and it may, perhaps, be your wish that the person in charge of that station at a moment like the present should be a permanent Resident. This is a point, however, that will entirely be decided by your own judgment.

I cannot conclude this long letter without again entreating your pardon and indulgence for that great freedom with which considerations of personal feeling and public duty have led me to express my sentiments.

I am, &c., &c.,
JOHN MALCOLM.

Resolutely and conscientiously did Malcolm cling to the opinion that justice and expediency both demanded the adoption of conciliatory measures. It cost him much, however, to adhere to a course which had now been scouted, disgraced, and abandoned. There were not wanting men of high character and intelligence who endeavoured to persuade him that the conciliatory system having been tried (though it may be doubted whether it ever had been fairly tried), he might now consent, without any sacrifice of consistency, to become the agent of a more vigorous policy. Foremost amongst these, too, was the man whom, of all others, perhaps, in India, he most respected. Colonel Close was not only the advocate but the agent also of the coercive system of Sir George Barlow. He had performed his part with a vigor and an address which, if he had done nothing else to earn the distinction, would have placed him in the front rank of the heroes of Indian history; and it was with no common regret that he now saw how widely Malcolm's opinions differed from his own.

"When you departed for Masulipatam," he wrote on the 15th of August, "you do not seem to have understood sufficiently the line of proceeding which Sir George Barlow had it in mind to

pursue. This I consider as extremely unfortunate, as it led you to propose a plan of proceeding to him which he was little inclined to adopt, and the result is a little soreness, which is, perhaps, mutual. You have made the only explanation which was possible to Sir George, namely, that you were not master of his intended line of proceeding; but it does not appear to me to follow, that, because you observed a conciliatory mode of conduct at Masulipatam, conceiving that you were acting all along according to the wishes and intentions of Government, therefore, since that conduct failed of effect, you should not give in to a coercive mode of action as *that* only calculated at the present stage of affairs to serve the public cause by restoring obedience and order. In the civil disputes in Ireland, Lord Cornwallis first endeavoured to conciliate the malcontents; but finding that this plan failed, he coerced them with vigor and reduced them to submission. Two points appear to me to be evident: first, that as the malcontents on the Coast continue to hold out, they ought to be coerced; and secondly, that Government is so powerful in means as to be able to coerce them."

To a certain extent, perhaps, Malcolm might have assented to this. He believed that "if the malcontents continued to hold out"—*after Government had proclaimed a general amnesty*—"they ought to be coerced." But he was eager that the past should be buried in oblivion; that no single source of irritation should remain. Full of this desire, the growth of a tender compassion for the misguided men who had fallen from their allegiance, but who yet might do their duty for years as brave soldiers and loyal servants of the State, he addressed, a few days before the receipt of Close's letter, the following appeal to Sir George Barlow:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

'Madras, Aug. 18, 1809, 9 P.M.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote a note to Colonel Barclay some hours ago, which he informed me he sent to you for perusal. I have since received a letter from Masulipatam, at which place they are

between hope and despair, but have refrained from further guilt, and mean to refrain, unless called upon by those who have now (thank God!) shown them an example of returning to their duty. I am assured you will not blame that extreme anxiety which makes me intrude unasked my opinion at a moment like the present. I have, I am satisfied, the fullest information of the real temper of the army at the present period; and if I am not the most deceived man in the world, there is an opportunity given by the conduct of the Hyderabad force which enables you to combine the immediate and complete settlement of these afflicting troubles with the advancement of the reputation, power, and dignity of Government. I am aware of the very deep guilt into which almost all have gone—some in intention, others in act—but the force at Hyderabad, who since the 1st of May have been the cause of all the present evils, and who lately insulted Government with demands, are now supplicating clemency. A dreadful example has occurred in Mysore, which must make a lasting impression on both officers and Sepoys, of the horrors to which such illegal combinations lead. If it were possible to close the scene here, an example must be given that will for ever prevent the repetition of such crimes; and the effect of shame and contrition which the clemency and magnanimity of Government must produce, will have more effect on the minds of liberal men than twenty examples. Men's minds will be at once reclaimed, and they will be fixed in their attachment by a better motive than fear. But this is not all. The officers at Hyderabad, like those at other stations, act at the present crisis entirely from the impulse of passion and feeling; and they fly, as I have witnessed, from one extreme to another with a facility which is not to be credited by persons under the influence of sound reason. Such men can never be depended upon, whatever pledges they make, while any strong causes of agitation remain; and no act, therefore, which does not embrace the whole can give that complete security and tranquillity which is the object of desire. If a single question of irritation and inflammation is left, it is a spark which may again create a general explosion. You will, I am assured, pardon this communication. Nothing could have induced me to the freedom but a conviction that this is one of those happy moments when all the dangers that threaten us can be dissipated. If you can, on the

ground of your granting that clemency to supplication which you never would to demand; of military justice being satisfied and the army lessoned by the dreadful example that has been made in Mysore; and if you think it not derogatory, at such a moment, to grant a general amnesty and to bury the past in oblivion, desiring all those who mean to perform their duty to join their corps, and those who do not to consider themselves out of the service, and proclaiming every man a traitor and liable to immediate execution who opposes legal authority one hour after the receipt of this order, I will answer with my life for the immediate re-establishment of the public authority on more secure grounds than perhaps it ever rested. Such an act as this will, I am assured, while it advances the fame and dignity of Government, raise your own reputation in the highest degree, and you will receive, as you will merit, the blessings of thousands with the applause of your country.

I have, perhaps, already said too much upon this subject; but I could adduce many more forcible reasons to those I have urged; but I shall not trouble you further. If you think the suggestions I have offered worthy of any attention, I shall attend you and state them (more fully). With regard to the success of this measure I cannot have a doubt. If all did not immediately submit, they would be completely disunited; and those who ventured to oppose, if there were any such, would be the proper objects for example.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

To this no answer was returned. Other councils had prevailed. Other measures were in progress. An amnesty so universal as this was not to be declared. It was the opinion of Sir George Barlow that the offended dignity of Government required that some examples should be made—that the law should assert itself, mildly and sparingly, but with effect. Already were the officers returning to their allegiance. They saw the hopelessness of the contest; they saw that the King's troops would act against them, as at Seringapatam, and dragoon down rebellion with the sabre's edge. Lord Minto, too, was

coming round from Calcutta, to take upon himself, if necessary, the final settlement of this ill-omened affair. At all events, Sir George Barlow felt that he had no longer any need of the services or of the advice of Colonel John Malcolm.

Here, then, we might cease to speak altogether of the Madras mutiny, for here Malcolm's connexion with it may be said to have terminated. But long after the officers of the Madras army had returned to their allegiance the contest furnished an unhappy subject of historical controversy of the most acrimonious kind. In these painful discussions Malcolm was compelled, in self-defence, to take a part. Whilst he was yet at Madras, in September, 1809, the Governor in Council despatched a long letter to the Secret Committee relating to the disturbances on the coast—a letter in which the following paragraphs occur:

"On receiving intelligence of the mutiny (at Masulipatam) we appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, in whose zeal and talents we entertained the fullest confidence, to the command of the Madras European regiment and of the garrison of Masulipatam, for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of Government over the troops, inquiring into the causes of the mutiny, and placing the most guilty of the offenders under arrest. Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm was not furnished with any written instructions. It was left to his discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances might render advisable, with the view to the accomplishment of the objects of his deputation.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm immediately proceeded by sea to Masulipatam. On his arrival he found that the officers of the garrison had formed themselves into a committee, in which every officer had a voice. The greatest anarchy and confusion prevailed, and it was with difficulty that he prevailed on the officers to acknowledge his authority.

"As it was never in the contemplation of the Government to disband the European regiment, it was expected that Lieutenant-

Colonel Malcolm would have taken the earliest opportunity to communicate to the men a distinct and public disavowal of that intention on the part of the Government, and have employed the most strenuous exertions to recall the men to a sense of their duty, by impressing upon their minds the degree of guilt and danger in which their officers, for purposes entirely personal to themselves, had endeavoured to involve them. It was also expected that Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, by establishing his influence and authority over the troops composing the garrison, would have secured their obedience, and by that means have deprived the officers of the power of prosecuting their designs, and brought the leaders to trial for their mutinous conduct.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm appears, however, to have adopted a course of proceeding entirely different from that which we had in view in deputing him to Masulipatam. He abstained from making any direct communication to the men, and when we authorised him, with the view of detaching the troops from the cause of their officers, to proclaim a pardon to the European and Native soldiers for the part which they might have taken in the mutiny, he judged it to be proper to withhold the promulgation of the pardon from an apprehension (as stated in his letter to our President, dated the 18th July) of irritating the minds of the European officers, and driving them to despair.

"To this apparently unreasonable forbearance, and attention to the feelings of officers who had, by their acts of violence and aggression, forfeited all claims to such consideration, may, we conceive, be ascribed Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm's failure in the establishment of any efficient control over the garrison; and he appears to have been principally occupied during the period of his residence at Masulipatam in negotiations with the disorderly committees, calculated, in our opinion, to compromise rather than establish his authority, and in fruitless attempts to induce them by argument to return to their duty and abandon the criminal combination in which they had engaged."

It was not until some three years after these paragraphs were written that Malcolm was made aware of their existence on the records of Government. They were then drawn forth by order of Parliament from the

archives of the India House, and published among a mass of other papers relating to the Madras mutiny. They stung Malcolm to the quick. The charge which they contained was a grave one. He had either disobeyed or misunderstood orders. The statement implied that he had acted contrary to the declared wishes of Government. In either case, of disobedience or miscomprehension, he had proved himself, by his contumacy or his stolidity, unworthy of the confidence that had been reposed in him; and this sentence was now to pass into the hands of every one who might interest himself in Indian affairs. What could he do in justice to himself, to his family, and the great cause of historical truth, but vindicate the reputation which was thus assailed by the Government which he had served at least with fidelity and zeal?

The best reply, the best defence, was a plain recital of facts. Malcolm sat down and wrote a narrative of the proceedings to which this chapter is devoted. He showed that he had neither disobeyed nor misunderstood orders. He had clearly stated his opinions to Sir George Barlow and to the chief officers of the Staff before he embarked for Masulipatam. He had gone there expressly and declaredly to follow a conciliatory course of conduct, and under no other circumstances would he have undertaken the mission at all. He may have been right or he may have been wrong in this decision, but whatever were his views he made no secrets of them; and it seems hardly possible to believe that he took his departure from Madras leaving behind him an impression that he was about to carry out a line of policy against which he had remonstrated with so much vehemence that he almost involved himself in a personal quarrel with one of the principal officers of the Staff and chief advocates of the dragooning system.

It was stated by the Madras Government that Malcolm had abstained from making any direct communication to the men. But he took what he believed to be the first good opportunity of addressing them on parade. It was the opinion also of Government that, at an early stage of his proceedings, he ought to have endeavoured to detach the men from their officers, and thus to have overawed the latter. But Malcolm believed that such a course was as vicious in principle as it was dangerous in practice, and he recoiled from it with horror. The question here involved is one of the deepest interest even in quiet times. We may surmise, therefore, with what earnestness it was discussed at a period when the civil power was threatened by a rebellious army, and the very existence of Government was at stake.

At the head of those who differed from him was Colonel Close, a man whose judgment was as clear as his action was vigorous; but it was no small consolation to Malcolm to know, on the other hand, that Sir James Mackintosh shared his opinions, and warmly approved his conduct. Such letters as the following, in which the whole question is discussed, must have had, in such a conjuncture, an invigorating and sustaining effect:

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Bombay, Aug. 20, 1809.

My dear Friend,—I have written you only two or three scraps since you left this place, because I knew too little of what occupied your mind to speak about it, and I was sure that every other subject would be for the time uninteresting. But I can no longer forbear from thanking you for the communication of the letter from Masulipatam, through Colonel Close, and of the papers, through Pasley, especially your letter of the 1st instant to Sir George Barlow. These remembrances at such a time are in themselves most gratifying; but they are of such a nature as to have greatly heightened their own value. To be so remembered

by a person who acts and writes as the last paper shows you to have done, is, I assure you, a distinction of which I shall never cease to be proud. That paper would have raised my opinion of you, if that were now possible. But in all the larger features of your conduct it has only realised my expectations. In some smaller points you have gone beyond them. I really should be at a loss to point out so respectful an assertion of independence. The exact propriety of your conduct will for the present be most strongly proved by the degree in which the advocates of violence on all sides will blame it. The time will come when the army will distinguish incendiaries from friends, and the Government councillors from sycophants. Then you will have another more agreeable, though not a more decisive, proof of your rectitude.

From the moment I heard the measures adopted towards the officers at and near Madras, I was perfectly certain that your councils no longer prevailed; and it was with no small pleasure that I heard of your being in a sort of disgrace at Court.

I conceived that the first indispensable requisite to the consideration of such an expedient was the absolute certainty of its immediate, universal, and permanent success. Of this I much doubted; and the fatal events which have occurred at Hyderabad and other places seem to show that my doubts were reasonable.

But this appeared to me, I will confess, a secondary question. I considered the success of such a measure as a great public calamity. I waive the impolicy of a measure which seemed to be contrived for the express purpose of imposing rebellion upon the officers as a point of honor, and of afterwards involving them in indiscriminate proscription. All these and many other considerations respecting the officers, however important, seem to be inferior.

An appeal to the privates against their immediate superiors is a wound in the vitals of an army. The relation of the private soldier to the subaltern is the keystone of the arch. An army may survive any other change, but to dissolve that relation is to dissolve the whole. There begins the obedience of the many to the few. In civil society this problem appears of most difficult solution. But there it is the obedience of the dispersed and unarmed many. It is rare, and in well-regulated communities almost unfelt. In military bodies it is the hourly obedience, even to death, of the armed and embodied many. The higher

links which bind subalterns to their superiors, and these to one chief, are only the obediences of the few to a fewer, and of these fewer to one. These things are easily intelligible. Honor and obvious interest are sufficient to account for them. But the obedience of the whole body of soldiers to their immediate officers is that which forms an army, and which cannot be disturbed without the utmost danger of its total destruction. Remember what our master* has said of the French: "They have begun by a most terrible operation. They have touched the central point about which the particles that compose armies are at repose." All that is said on armies will reward you for a reperusal. It is towards the latter part of the *Reflections.*

But it may, perhaps, be said that this was a case of necessity; and that when the alternative exists the army must be sacrificed to the state, for which alone it exists. It must first, however, be shown that no other means were possible. It must, secondly, be considered that the destruction of the army may be a greater evil than the mere weakening of the civil authority, and that the proper opposition is the destruction of the Government or the destruction of the army. Finally, it must be remembered that we are here to apply our principle to a country which we only hold by an army, and where the dissolution of the army must be, in fact, the destruction of the State.

You will not suspect me of underrating the mischiefs which attend military revolutions and deliberative armies. I detest them from principle, from reason, from habit, and from prejudice. But if I am asked whether the deposition of a governor by military force or an appeal to private soldiers against their officers be the greater evil, I am compelled to own that I must hesitate; and that if I were to confess the inclination of my mind in such a terrible dilemma, I might be accused, though most unjustly, of less zeal for the maintenance of the supremacy of the civil power than was to be expected from my opinions or my station. If this be in the least doubtful, it must be most certain that any compromise with British officers is a less evil than an appeal to sepoys or to rajahs. I trust in God that before this time sounder counsels have been adopted, and that India has been saved from the

* Burke, of whom Malcolm was as great an admirer as Mackintosh.

greatest as well as the most imminent danger that ever hung over it. . . . . .

My heart is refreshed by the prospect of seeing you again. . . . . Fanny* is very impatient to renew her Hindostanee dialogues with you; and Robert* will be *bote cooshee* (much pleased) to see you. . . . . My friends in England condemn me to a longer absence—indeed, I can hardly say how long. But of this more when we meet.

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. MACKINTOSH.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Bombay, Sept. 16, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 2nd I received yesterday, and am now looking forward with great anxiety for your promised papers, as well as for the decision of Lord Minto, on which the permanent existence of the British power in India seems to me in a great measure to depend. Perhaps the most consummate wisdom may fail in healing these fatal wounds. But if a whole army be treated as delinquents, if any system be adopted by which the Madras officers are to be considered as a proscribed or even degraded caste—then I think that every man who looks beyond the moment must see the axe applied to the root of our Indian empire. I hope that a man of great abilities and humane disposition, like Lord Minto, will be disposed, by his character as well as his understanding, to healing counsels.

Your influence over him will be the first criterion by which I shall estimate the safety of this measure. If you have that ascendancy over him which you ought to have, I shall not despair of the commonwealth. A medium in this respect will, probably, be difficult for you to preserve. If your principles be not prevalent, you may be obliged to withdraw from the appearance of a participation in counsels you cannot approve, according to the principles so admirably laid down in your letter to Sir G. B. of the 1st of August. In such a case there would certainly be a strong temptation to you to go to England, to lay the important information in your possession before those who might even then

* Sir James Mackintosh's children.

turn it to some account. Your extensive information on these late unfortunate events, your insight into those circumstances in the situation of the army which you foresaw and foretold would produce some unfortunate effects, and your being the only eminent person in India who could be called truly impartial, would certainly give you a weight to which no other individual could pretend. If you yield to these temptations, I shall lose one of the very, very few out of my own family to whom I look in India with sentiments of confidence. But I must endeavour to console myself with the hope that our friendship and intercourse would continue, and that your absence would enable you to do more justice to yourself and more service to your country. If you withstand them, and accept Lord M.'s confidence in the affairs of Persia, without perfectly enjoying it in those of Madras, you will do an act which will, I am sure, require all your generosity. . . . . .

Ever yours affectionately,

J. MACKINTOSH.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Tarala, Dec. 2, 1809.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have read your papers on the late unhappy state of the Madras army with great instruction and with feelings of pride that one for whom I have such a friendship should, on so difficult an occasion, act, in my opinion, with an exact propriety which few of the wisest men have, in such circumstances, been able to retain. There is no part of your reasoning to which I do not assent, or of your conduct in which I do not exult. You appear to me to have demonstrated—

1. That in the middle of July the fatal delusion of the officers of the Madras army had presented four possible events to the contemplation and almost to the choice of Government;—the subversion of the civil power, the destruction of the first British army in India, a civil war of uncertain termination, or a conciliatory measure on the part of the Government; which might have brought back at least the majority of the officers to reason.

2. That the Government might then have adopted such a conciliatory measure as would, in all probability, have reclaimed the most numerous or the most leading part of the officers with a

sacrifice of dignity very slight compared with the dangers of contest or the evils of victory.

3. That in rejecting such measures at such a time the Government entered on a contest where even their success was not certain; where that success did, in fact, arise from many causes quite independent of their policy; and where it has been procured by the dreadful price of an appeal to sepoys against their officers, of native powers against our own army, and to the King's troops against the Company's, at the risk, or rather with the certainty, of sharpening that animosity between them which it requires the greatest wisdom to lay asleep, and of teaching the King's troops to consider the Company's with more disrespect, and the Company's to regard the King's with more jealousy. It appears to me that these proceedings have struck at the vitals of military subordination, that they have set to native powers an example of interference in our dispute, and that they have increased tenfold the dangers inseparable from a double military establishment. If, however, they had been indispensably necessary to avert the subversion of Government, I should have lamented without disapproving of them. But I cannot read your suggestions from Masulipatam without considering them in a different light. That you, who have taken so conspicuous a part in disputes which so much interest the passions, should be an object of attack, is not to be wondered at. You will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that I, for having, in the liberty of confidential conversation, professed some of your opinions, have been the object of calumny.

In consequence, as I have been informed, of a report made of my conversation after dinner, by an old field-officer, and by an officer of General Jones's family, the General was pleased to speak of me as having prevented several officers in this army from having subscribed the test proposed to them; and immediately after, with that gentlemanlike and chivalrous spirit which I have experienced more than once here, Lady Mackintosh was excluded from all the parties, so large as to make the exclusion quite marked, given to General and Mrs. Jones on their departure. The persons who excluded us from these parties on such grounds were persons to whom I had behaved with uniform civility, and who could not pretend to allege the slightest private complaint:—many of them, I acknowledge, entitled to be believed if they

alleged that they misunderstood language sufficiently plain to all men of tolerable understanding. Their privileges of that sort are large. But I think that it would have been more modest if they had supposed it possible that a person who had spent many years in reflection on the means and principle of civil and military obedience might differ from them without criminality; that it would have been more decent if they had been slow to charge with disaffection the chief legal and judicial servant of his Majesty in this Government; and that it would have been more gracious if they had not confined their observations to the only person who was under an official necessity, as well as a moral obligation, not to resent them, while other very considerable numbers of this community, who thought and spoke much more freely than I did, were suffered to pass by without observation. I say nothing of the womanly and peculiarly unofficer-like practice of betraying private conversation; for if mine had been fairly represented and properly understood, I had no interest in wishing it to remain unknown. The proposal of a test here, in consequence of an anonymous letter, I certainly disapproved, as a measure of most wanton impolicy, which might lead to all the evils of a caballing and debating army. But when once proposed, I wished it to be adopted, and, in the case of one officer of high rank, who came to tell me that he had refused it, and to show me his official letter on that occasion, I suggested to him the insertion of words in that letter equivalent to the professions and disavowals contained in the test. His objection I well knew was not to the substance. He adopted my suggestion, and afterwards, I believe, took another mode of subscribing the test. I strongly objected to the appeal to sepoys in the Madras army, in execution of the General Orders of the 26th July; but my objection was founded on horror of mutiny and sacred regard to the most essential of all the principles of subordination. I know that you would not honor me with that degree of your friendship I am proud of possessing, if it were necessary for me to disclaim any principles which could lead me to wish success to a revolted army, an event equally subversive of authority and of liberty. I merely wish to place in your hands this very short protest against the unworthy treatment which I have received, that you may be enabled to silence any calumnies of this sort which you may hereafter hear. I have no objection

to your imparting the last part of this letter—I mean that concerning myself—to any person whom you may think proper.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. MACKINTOSH.

There must have been to Malcolm no little comfort and consolation in these letters; for there was no man in India whose opinion he held in higher esteem than Sir James Mackintosh's. But, in truth, he needed them very little at this time. New scenes of enterprise were opening out before him, and thoughts of the future were now to supplant memories of the past. He had been again invited to conduct an embassy to the Persian Court. Sir Harford Jones had made his way to Teheran in the summer, and had concluded a treaty with the Shah. What were the obligations it imposed upon the contracting parties, and in what manner they affected the British-Indian Government, and called for renewed efforts of diplomacy, will best be gathered from the following passages of a long and elaborate letter which Lord Minto addressed to Malcolm in July:

"It is not very necessary to consider critically at present the merits of Sir Harford's treaty, because the public faith is clearly pledged by engagements upon which the Court of Persia has acted, and has committed the most important interests of that Crown. Sir Harford Jones had authentic credentials for his ministry. Although all treaties are subject to the ratification of the Government which deputes the Minister, yet the circumstances under which a treaty is concluded by the Minister deputed may be such as to leave no option to his Court. The present negotiation seems to stand in that predicament, and to place us, with whom, I conceive, it has been the intention of all parties (I mean both the King's Government and the Court of Directors) that the option should rest, under the absolute necessity of ratifying and performing the engagements contracted by Sir Harford Jones. In consideration of those engagements, Persia has renounced her

alliance with France—has recalled her own Minister from Paris—dismissed, in a manner highly offensive, the French Ambassador from her own Court—cancelled all her recent treaties with France—and, in a word, provoked the resentment and indignation of the most powerful monarch in the world. It is too late, therefore, to tell the King of Persia that Sir Harford Jones was subject to instructions which he has exceeded; and that although he had full powers to negotiate and conclude, his acts were subject to ratification, which is withheld. The same answer may be justly given to any argument derived from the imperfect obligation of preliminary articles, until reduced into a final and definitive treaty. Persia has been induced by an accredited Minister to fulfil the principal engagements contracted on her part, upon the faith of a preliminary treaty, and has established an onerous title to the performance of ours. My opinion, therefore, is, that we are bound to execute the principal and leading conditions of Sir Harford's treaty. By these I mean the stipulated succors against France and Russia, or against Russia singly, during war between Great Britain and Russia. With regard to the continuance of those succors against Russia after a peace may have been concluded between the latter power and England, *we* can neither ratify nor positively reject. That is a point of imperial policy on which we must ourselves receive instructions from the King's Government, and implicitly obey them. We possess, indeed, instructions on that question already, but we must ask for fresh orders, founded on the new fact of Sir Harford's having actually pledged the faith of the King to that engagement.

"When I say that we are bound to fulfil this treaty, I assume the faithful performance of it by Persia. If the French shall have been recalled to Court, and an intercourse recommenced with that Government, there will be an end to our treaty. If that shall happen at any future time, we shall be released from our engagements. It is indispensable, therefore, that the periodical payments of the subsidy should be regulated, that is to say, should be made or withheld, by a person of confidence, residing at the Court of Persia; and that limited duty might, undoubtedly, be performed by a person of less calibre; but there are larger and yet more important objects now in view, which require once more precisely *you*. In the first place, affairs have relapsed from

a pleasant but short intermission into a state which requires a vigilant eye on which we can depend for a just view of events, present and approaching, in that quarter. We want a judgment on the spot, for counsel and advice; and a hand that may be trusted out of sight, if sudden occasion should arise for action.

"There is, however, a more specific call for your services. I need not tell you all that has been done through the zealous ministry of Sir Harford Jones to lower the rank and estimation of the British Government of India within the sphere of his influence. I am entirely convinced that the empire at large is deeply interested in maintaining, or rather, I must now say, in restoring the British dominion in India to that eminence amongst the states of Asia on which the mission of Sir Harford Jones found it established. But if I had any doubts of my own upon that point, I should still think it amongst my first duties to transmit to my successor the powers, prerogatives, and dignities of our Indian Empire in its relations—I mean with the surrounding nations—as entire and unsullied as they were confided to my hands; and I should esteem it a disgraceful violation of my great trust to let the most powerful and the noblest empire of the East suffer in my custody the slightest debasement, unless the commands of my Sovereign and superiors should require in very explicit terms a change so much to be deprecated. I entreat you, therefore, to go and lift us to our own height and to the station that belongs to us once more.

"I confess that I apprehend considerable difficulties. If things have gone worse in Europe, you will probably not be received at all. That point, however, must be finally determined before you quit Bombay, or, perhaps, I might say, Calcutta, for why should you not take your departure directly from hence, touching at Bombay for your escort, unless that which is yet in Persia should answer the purpose?

"The single conditions that need be made on our parts are that you shall be received without hesitation or delay at Teheran, and treated on all points as on the occasion of your first embassy. Without those assurances you must not advance a step from India. But those points being established, none other should stop you; and the actual residence of Gardanne at Teheran should not prevent your repairing to Court. It would furnish, on the con-

trary, a fresh motive for your hastening to the combat. In those circumstances no subsidy can be paid, and the whole treaty becomes void. But the field would be open for *your* efforts to expel *finally* the French influence, and *finally* establish our own by new engagements suited to the circumstances.

"I have left, I do not doubt, many things unsaid. But these pages will give you the general color of my thoughts on this subject; and presuming that you will wish to confer fully with me upon many points that would escape, or be imperfectly treated in letters, I shall reckon on the happiness of seeing you and *Charlotte*, for so I shall soon acquire a title to call her, at the time that may appear to you most convenient."

Before Malcolm could practically accept this invitation, another letter came from Lord Minto—a few hurried lines, exhorting him to "stand fast," as his Lordship was about to start for Madras. On the 11th of September, the Governor-General crossed the surf. He received Malcolm with all his old cordiality and kindness. He found the mutiny already quelled. Little remained for him to do but to punish a few offenders and to forgive the rest. He was soon able, therefore, to attend to the business of the Persian Mission. Malcolm needed no encouragement. Past disappointments had not allayed his zeal. He was soon again busy with his preparations. They were not, this time, of a very elaborate or costly character. Beyond a sufficient escort to give dignity to his ambassadorial character, there was no military force to be organised and equipped.

Malcolm went on a mission of peace attended only by his "family," but the family was a large one. It was no small part of the business of the Envoy Extraordinary to restore the prestige of the Company's Government; and Lord Minto, therefore, readily agreed to render the new Embassy more imposing than that which, under the

conduct of Sir Harford Jones, represented the Crown of England. There were, moreover, some supplementary objects to be attained by the Mission. The want of information relative to the countries beyond India on the north-west had long been severely felt by Government, especially in times when the invasion of India by an European enemy was supposed to be a probable event. The opportunity of supplying this want now seemed to present itself, and Malcolm was all eagerness to attach to his Staff men who would delight in the work of exploring unknown regions, and bringing back intelligence relating to their geography and their resources.

Malcolm made his selection well. He required the assistance of active, energetic men—full of enterprise, courage, and intelligence; and all these attributes he found abundantly in the numerous members of his Staff. Charles Pasley had already approved himself in the Persian territory a diplomatist of the first class; Henry Ellis had given promise of those many high qualities which afterwards secured for him an European reputation; in John Briggs were discernible the germs of the ripe scholar and warm-hearted philanthropist, who still discusses questions of Indian policy or Indian philosophy with all the ardor of a boy. In Grant, doomed to perish miserably by the hand of an assassin; in the young giant Lindsay; in Josiah Stewart and John Macdonald; in the engineer Monteith and others, Malcolm discerned the best characteristics of the true soldier and wise diplomatist, and we may be sure that whatsoever good qualities they possessed were developed under such a master. He had a wonderful faculty of drawing out the best part of those who worked under him. All that was excellent in his associates seemed to ripen rapidly under the genial and encouraging warmth of his example. His

words and acts alike gave them energy and strength; and he never from first to last had reason to complain of any lack of good service.*

* The following is the official muster-roll of Malcolm's Staff: "Captain Charles Pasley, secretary; Lieutenant Stewart, first assistant; H. Ellis, Esq., second ditto, at Bombay; and A. Jukes, Esq., third assistant, now at Bushire; Lieutenant J. Briggs, supernumerary assistant at ditto; Lieutenant Macdonald, ditto; Lieutenant Little, ditto; Mr. Surgeon Colhoun, Mr. Surgeon Cormick; Captain N. P. Grant, commanding the escort; Lieutenants Frederick, Martin, Lindsay, Johnson, Fotheringham, attached to ditto; Ensign Monteith, Engineers. The escort consists of one subadar, one jemadar, two havildars, two naigues, and twenty troopers of Madras Horse Artillery; one sergeant, two corporals, one trumpeter, and ten privates of his Majesty's 17th Light Dragoons; and one subadar, one jemadar, two havildars, two naigues, one drummer, one fifer, and forty Sepoys of the Bombay establishment." Lieutenant Christie and Ensign Pottinger had previously started from Bombay.

APPENDIX.

MEHEDI ALI KHAN'S MISSION.

(Chapter VII., page 116.)

(*From the Journals of Sir John Malcolm.*)

"AFTER we were seated, the Meerza commenced by observing, that to make me master of all his actions since he was sent into this quarter, he should take a cursory view of them from the time of his arrival at Bushire until the present time. He had been informed, he said, by Mr. Duncan, that while the Company was engaged on one hand with Tippoo Sultan, Zemaun Shah, on the other, threatened an invasion of the provinces of Oude; and that he had suggested the possibility of creating a diversion in the Afghan dominions by exciting the Persian monarch to hostilities in that quarter, which certainly would have the effect of recalling Zemaun Shah from any attack upon India; that having been authorised to make an attempt of this nature, he had, with the aid and advice of Hadjee Khalil Khan, opened a correspondence with the King and also with the Prime Minister, and in the course of this he had artfully avoided pledging the Company's name; that he had represented as from himself the ravages of the Afghans at Lahore, and mentioned that thousands of the Sheea inhabitants of that quarter, who had fled from his cruelties, had found an asylum in the Company's dominions; that if the King of Persia possessed the ability to check the career of such a prince he would be serving God and man to do so; if he did not, why of course he would remain quiet. He also endeavoured to accelerate the

advance of Mahmoud and Feroze Shah, the fugitive brothers of Zemaun Shah, and he added that all his endeavours were (as I had heard) crowned with success.

" Last season the King of Persia had lost his time in besieging Nishapoor (it was true), and effected nothing. But the object, Mehedi Ali Khan said, that he had been directed to accomplish, was to prevent Zemaun Shah's invading India, not to destroy that monarch; and that object had been gained. Zemaun Shah, alarmed at the movement of the Persian monarch, had returned from Peshawur and hastened to Herat; and the winter, which was the season for his invading Hindostan, had been lost.

" After the King's retreat, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had gone to Teheran, where he was honorably entertained, and that his Majesty had received him with distinction, and lodged him with the Prime Minister. Mehedi Ali Khan added that as he found that affairs had taken the most favorable turn, and that the King of Persia was obliged in honor to continue the contest with the Afghan Prince, he saw no good in making use of those powers with which he had been entrusted, and incurring an unnecessary expense for the Company. He therefore, when asked the purport of his mission, declared he was only sent to condole with the King on the death of his uncle, and to congratulate him on his auspicious succession. What he had before stated respecting Zemaun Shah's cruelties, and the protection which the Company had afforded to those whom his inhumanity had forced from the country, he declared was from himself, not from the English, who, so far from desiring aid against Zemaun Shah, wished him to advance, that they might try him in arms; that it was a matter of indifference to them whether the King of Persia advanced or not, further than they would always rejoice to hear of his Majesty's good fortune and increased power.

" As there was a necessity for Mr. Duncan's letter to the King corresponding with this language, Mehedi Ali Khan said he took the one sent from Bombay out of the purse, as its contents (which represented him as a man charged with power to make any agreement he chose) would have excited suspicion, and made the King urgent for an advance of money, and substituted in its place a letter which condoled with the King on his uncle's death, and congratulated him on his own succession.

"Respecting the French, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had procured orders to be sent for their persons to be seized, and their property to be plundered, if they came to any ports in Persia; and that he himself had orders to that effect from the King to the Sheikh of Bushire.

"He concluded by saying that at an audience before he left Court, where all were excluded from the presence except himself and the Prime Minister, a long conversation had taken place on the intended expedition to Khorassan and Candahar, which the King swore by his head he intended to prosecute. On his advice being asked whether he thought it should be proclaimed as a war of religion or one of ambition, Mehedi Ali Khan stated that both grounds were objectionable, as they were likely to unite those whom it was his Majesty's interest should be divided; that it was best for his Majesty, in his opinion, to take public notice of the Prince Mahmoud, who was at his Court, and to proclaim his royal intention of placing that prince, who was Zemaun Shah's elder brother, on a throne which was his birthright.* This pretext was honorable, and would probably gain friends to the King among the chief leaders of the Afghan tribes, who were, by all accounts, not a little disaffected. The King approved this advice, and told him he was resolved to send Prince Mahmoud with Sadik Khan in advance, in the beginning of April, and he should himself follow in the rear with 20,000 men.

"This was the state of affairs, Mehedi Ali Khan said, when he took his leave, and he had no doubt that the King would march; and if he does, there must be war between him and Zemaun Shah; and, let who would conquer, the purposes of the Honorable Company would be answered."

* This, however, is a mistake. Hamayoon was the eldest son of Timour Shah; Zemaun, the second; and Mahmoud, the third.—K.

THE PERSIAN TREATIES.

(Chapter VII., page 143.)

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and an annexed Treaty concluded by Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General of India, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in dignity, the exalted in station, the refuge of power and glory, the noble and great in authority, the chiefs of high nobles, the Beglerbegs, the Haukims, the Naibs, and Mootasuddies of the kingdom under our protection (who are raised by our royal favor), become acquainted, that, at this period, the dignified and eminent in station, the prudent, able, and penetrating, the greatest of the exalted followers of the Messiah, Captain John Malcolm, deputed from a glorious quarter (from the Government of the King of England, whose Court resembles the firmament, an emperor in dignity like Alexander, possessing the power of the globe, and from the repository of glory, greatness, and ability, endowed with nobility, power, and justice, the Governor-General of the kingdom of Hindoostaun), for the purpose of establishing union and friendship between the two great States, has arrived at our threshold, founded on justice, and has been honored by admission to our royal presence of conspicuous splendor, and has expressed a desire that the foundations of amity and union should be laid between the two States, that they should be connected together in the bonds of friendship and harmony, and that a constant union and reciprocal good understanding should exist. We, from our august selves, have given our consent, and have granted the requests and desires of the high in rank above mentioned, and a treaty, sealed

with the seal of the Minister* of our ever-enduring Government, has been given to him; and you, exalted in station, are positively enjoined of the necessity (after you become informed of our royal and august order) for all of you acting in strict conformity with the conditions of the treaty concluded and exchanged between the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great and glorious in power, near to the throne, on whom the royal confidence is placed, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank the Envoy (Captain John Malcolm) whose titles have been before enumerated. Let no one act contrary to this high command, or to the contents of the annexed treaty; and should it ever be represented to us that any of the great nobles conduct themselves in opposition to the stipulations of this treaty, or are in this respect guilty or negligent, such will incur our displeasure and punishment, and be exposed to our royal anger, which is like fire; and let them view this as an obligation.

Dated in the month of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Sealed in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shuffee, Meerza Roza Kooli, Meerza Assud Oollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Mortiza Kooli, Meerza Fazoollah, and Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

Praise be to God, who has said, Perform your covenant, for the performance of your covenant shall be inquired into hereafter.

As establishing the obligations of friendship between all mankind is a charge from the Almighty, and it is a most laudable and excellent institution, and as the Creator is pleased, and the happiness and tranquillity of his creatures consulted by it, therefore, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune, of great and splendid power, the greatest

* Literally, one in whom confidence is placed.

among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave, and vested with authority from the part of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phœnix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion!]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorner of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories, and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between the two great Powers shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. The merchants of the high contracting States are to travel and carry on their affairs in the territories of both nations in full security and confidence, and the rulers and governors of all

cities are to consider it their duty to protect from injury their cattle and goods.

Article 2nd. The traders and merchants of the kingdoms of England or Hindoostaun that are in the service of the English Government shall be permitted to settle in any of the seaports or cities of the boundless empire of Persia (which may God preserve from calamity) that they prefer, and no Government duties, taxes, or requisitions shall ever be collected on any goods that are the actual property of either of the Governments, the usual duties on such to be taken from purchasers.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that either the persons or property of merchants are injured or lost, by thieves and robbers, the utmost exertions shall be made to punish the delinquents and recover the property. And if any merchant or trader of Persia evades or delays the payment of a debt to the English Government, the latter are authorised to use every possible mode for the recovery of their demands, taking care to do so in communication and with the knowledge of the ruler or governor of the place, who is to consider it as his duty to grant on such occasion every aid in his power. And should any merchants of Persia be in India attending to their mercantile concerns, the officers of the English Government are not to prevent them carrying on their affairs, but to aid and favor them; and the above-mentioned merchants are to recover their debts and demands in the mode prescribed by the customs and laws of the English Government.

Article 4th. If any person in the empire of Persia die indebted to the English Government, the ruler of the place must exert his power to have such demand satisfied before those of any other creditors whatever. The servants of the English Government resident in Persia are permitted to hire as many domestics, natives of that country, as are necessary for the transaction of their affairs; and they are authorised to punish such in cases of misconduct in the manner they judge most expedient, provided such punishment does not extend to life or limb. In such cases, the punishment to be inflicted by the ruler or governor of the place.

Article 5th. The English are at liberty to build houses and mansions in any of the ports or cities of Persia that they choose, and they may sell or rent such houses or mansions at pleasure.

And should ever a ship belonging to the English Government be in a damaged state in any of the ports of Persia, or one of Persia be in that condition in an English harbor, the chiefs and rulers of the ports and harbors of the respective nations are to consider it as their duty to give every aid to refit and repair vessels so situated; and if it happens that any of the vessels of either nation are sunk or shipwrecked in or near the ports or shores of either country, on such occasions whatever part of the property is recovered shall be restored to its owners or their heirs, and a just hire is to be allowed by the owners to those who recover it.

Final Article. Whenever any native of England, or India, in the service of the English Government, resident in Persia, wishes to leave that country, he is to suffer obstruction from no person, but to be at full liberty to do so, and to carry with him his property.

The articles of the treaty between the two States are fixed and determined. That person who turns from God turns from his own soul.

Dated in the month of Rumzaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Seal of	Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.	Captain John Malcolm.
(Signed)	JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Additional Article.

It is further written in sincerity, that on iron, lead, steel, broadcloth, and perpetts, that are exclusively the property of the English Government, no duties whatever shall be taken from the sellers; a duty not exceeding one per cent. to be levied on the purchasers. And the duties, imposts, and customs which are at this period established in Persia and India (on other goods) are to remain fixed, and not to be increased.

The high in rank, Haujee Khulleel Khaun, Malek-oo-Tijaur, is charged and entrusted with the arrangement and settlement of the remaining points relative to commerce.

Seal of	Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.	Captain John Malcolm.
(Signed)	JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Political Treaty.

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and of an annexed Treaty, concluded by Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great Rulers, Officers and Writers of the ports, sea-coasts, and islands of the provinces of Faurs and Khoozistaun, do consider themselves as particularly honored and advanced by the royal favor; and whereas, at this period, the foundations of union and friendship have been cemented, and the habits of amity and intercourse have been increased between the Ministers of the (Persian) State of eternal duration and the Ministers of the high Government of the refulgent sun of the sky of royalty, greatness, and eminence, the Sovereign of the countries of England and India; and, as various engagements and treaties calculated for duration and permanence, and for mutual good understanding, have been contracted, therefore this command from the palace of glory, requiring obedience, has been proclaimed, that you, high in rank, do cheerfully comply, and execute the clear sense and meaning of what has been established. And should ever any persons of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or boundaries, or desire to establish themselves either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty and authorised to disgrace and slay them. You are to look upon it as your duty to aid and act in a friendly manner to all traders, merchants, and men of rank of the English nation. All such you are to consider as possessing the favor of the King, and you must act in conformity to

the conditions of the annexed treaty, that has been concluded between the trustworthy of the high State, the bracelet of the graceful Government, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank, Captain John Malcolm. View this as an obligation.

Dated the 12th of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with January, A.D. 1801.

Sealed in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shaffee, Meerza Reza Kouli, Meerza Assud Pollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Moortiza Kouli, Meerza Fazoollah, Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

Praise be unto God, who said, O you who believe, perform your contracts; perform your covenant with God when you enter into covenant with Him, and violate not your engagements after the ratification thereof.

After the voice is raised to the praise and glory of the God of the world, and the brain is perfumed with the scent of the saints and prophets, to whom be health and glory! whose rare perfections are perpetually chanted by birds* of melodious notes, furnished with two, three, and four pair of wings, and to the highest seated in the heavens, for whom good has been predestinated, and the perfume mixed with musk, which scenteth the celestial mansions of those that sing hymns in the ethereal sphere, and to the light of the flame of the Most High, which gives irradiate splendor to the collected view of those who dwell in the heavenly regions, the clear meaning of (the treaty) which has been established on a solid basis is fully explained in this page, and it is fixed as a prescription of law, that in this world of existence and trouble, in the universe of creation and concord there is no action among those of mankind that tends more to the perfection of the human race, or to answer the end of their being and existence, than that of cementing friendship and of establishing

* Metaphorically, angels.

intercourse, communication, and connexion betwixt each other. The image reflected from the mirror of accomplishment is a tree fruitful and abundant, and one that produces good, both now and hereafter. To illustrate the allusions that it has been proper to make, and to explain these metaphors worthy of exposition, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune of great and splendid power, the greatest among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave and vested with authority from the port of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phœnix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes, exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion, and may God fix and extend thy power over the servants of the Almighty!]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorner of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in

his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between these two great States shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. As long as the sun illuminating the circle of the two great contracting parties shines on their sovereign dominions, and bestows light on the whole world, the beautiful image of excellent union shall remain fixed on the mirror of duration and perpetuity, the thread of shameful enmity and distance shall be cut, conditions of mutual aid and assistance between the two States shall be substituted, and all causes of hatred and hostility shall be banished.

Article 2nd. If the King of the Afghauns should ever show a resolution to invade India, which is subject to the government of the monarch (above mentioned), the Prince of high rank, the King of England, an army overthrowing mountains, furnished with all warlike stores, shall be appointed from the State of the conspicuous and exalted high and fixed in power (the King of Persia), to lay waste and desolate the Afghaun dominions, and every exertion shall be employed to ruin and humble the above-mentioned nation.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that the King of the Afghaun nation ever becomes desirous of opening the gates of peace and friendship with the Government of the King (of Persia), who is in rank like Solomon, in dignity like Jumsheed, the shade of God, who has bestowed his mercy and kindness on the earth, when negotiations are opened for an amicable adjustment it shall be stipulated in the peace concluded that the King of the Afghauns or his armies shall abandon all design of attack on the territories subject to the Government of the King above mentioned, who is worthy of royalty, the King of England.

Article 4th. Should ever any King of the Afghauns, or any person of the French nation, commence war and hostilities with the powerful of the ever-enduring State (of the King of Persia), the Rulers of the Government of the King (of England), whose Court is like heaven, and who has been before mentioned, shall

(on such event) send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and such (supply) shall be delivered over at one of the ports of Persia, whose boundaries are conspicuous to the officers of the high in dignity, the King of Persia.

Article 5th. Should it ever happen that an army of the French nation, actuated by design and deceit, attempts to settle, with a view of establishing themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a conjunct force shall be appointed by the two high contracting States, to act in co-operation, and to destroy and put an end to the foundations of their treason. It is a condition, if such event happens, and the conquering troops (of Persia) march, that the officers of the Government of the King (of England), who is powerful as the heavens, and has been before mentioned, shall load, transport, and deliver (for their service) as great a quantity of necessaries, stores, and provisions as they possibly can; and if ever any of the great men of the French nation express a wish or desire to obtain a place of residence or dwelling on any of the islands or shores of the kingdom of Persia, that they may there raise the standard of abode or settlement, such request or representation shall not be consented unto by the high in rank of the State encompassed with justice (the Government of Persia), and leave for their residing in such place shall not be granted.

While time endures, and while the world exists, the contents of this exalted treaty shall remain an admired picture in the mirror of duration and perpetuity, and submission to the fair image on this conspicuous page shall be everlasting.

Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.

Seal of
Captain John Malcolm.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

[*The spelling of the names and titles in the above treaties differs from that employed in the text. The orthography in Malcolm's journal has been literally followed.*—K.]

THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH.

(Chapter X., page 243.)

Treaty of Alliance between the Honorable East India Company and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. Concluded at Boorhampore on the 27th February, 1804.

Treaty of alliance and mutual defence between the Honorable the English East India Company, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, settled by Major John Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company; and by Bappo Eitul Punt, and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. After having communicated to each other their full-powers, the said John Malcolm being deputed to the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley; the Hon. Major-General aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from his Excellency the most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, one of his Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, appointed by the Honorable Court of Directors of the said Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies.

Whereas, by the blessing of God, the relations of friendship and union have been happily established between the Government of the Honorable Company, and that of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Scindiah Bahadur, by a recent treaty of peace, the two Governments aforesaid, adverting to the complexion of the times, have now determined, with a view to the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to enter into this treaty of general defensive alliance, for the reciprocal protection of their respective territories, together with those of their several allies and dependents, against unprovoked aggression and encroachments of all or any enemies whatever.

Art. 1. The friendship and union established by the former treaty between the two States, shall be promoted and increased by this treaty, and shall be perpetual; the friends and enemies of either State shall be the friends and enemies of both; and their mutual interests shall henceforward be inseparable.

2. If any person or state whatever shall commit any act of un-

provoked hostility or aggression against either of the contracting parties, and, after due representation, shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation, or shall deny the just satisfaction or indemnity which the contracting parties shall have required, then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures as the case shall appear to demand. For the more distinct explanation of the true intent and effect of this article, the Governor-General in Council, in behalf of the Honorable Company, hereby declares, that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit, with impunity, any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah; but will at all times, in compliance with the requisition of the Maharajah, maintain and defend the same, when such requisition is made, in the like manner as the rights and territories of the Honorable Company are now maintained and defended.

3. With a view to fulfil this treaty of mutual defence, the Maharajah agrees to receive, and the Honorable East India Company to furnish, a subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition. This force is to be stationed at such place, near the frontier of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, as may hereafter be deemed most eligible by the British Government; and it will be held in readiness, at such station, to proceed as soon as possible for the execution of any service on which it is liable to be employed by the condition of this treaty.

4. And it is further agreed, that, in conformity to the stipulations of the fifteenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded by Major-General Wellesley, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Bappo Eitul, Moonshee Kavel Nyn, &c., on the part of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, that all charges and expenses of the six battalions above mentioned, and of their ordnance, artillery, military stores, and equipment, shall be defrayed by the Honorable Company out of the produce of the revenues of the territories ceded by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, to the said Company, by the articles second, third, and fourth of the afore-mentioned treaty of peace, which territories are specified in a statement annexed to that treaty.

5. Grain, and all other articles of consumption, and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary number of cattle, horses, and camels, required for the use of the subsidiary force, shall, whenever the aforesaid force is within the territories of the Maharajah, in consequence of his requisition, be entirely exempt from duties; and whenever any further force of the Honorable Company shall, in consequence of war with any other state, be in the dominions of the Maharajah, they shall, in like manner as the subsidiary force, be exempt from all duties upon the aforesaid articles of necessary use and consumption. And it is also agreed, that, whenever any part of the army of the Maharajah is in the territories of the Honorable Company, for purposes connected with the fulfilment of this treaty, no duties on grain, camels, wearing apparel, &c., as stated above, which the party of the army of the said Maharajah may require, shall be collected; and it is further agreed, that the officers of the respective Governments, while they are in the fulfilment of the articles of this treaty, either with the army, or in the territories of the other, shall be treated with that respect and consideration which is due to their rank and station.

6. The subsidiary force will at all times be ready, on the requisition of the Maharajah, to execute services of importance, such as the care of the person of the Maharajah, his heirs and successors, the protection of the country from attack and invasion, the overawing and chastisement of rebels or exciters of disturbance in the Maharajah's dominions; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions.

7. Whereas it is agreed, in the thirteenth article of the treaty of peace, that the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah shall never take, or retain in his service, any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the Government of which may be at war with Great Britain, or any British subject whatever, European or native of India, without the consent of the British Government; the Maharajah now further engages that he will hereafter never employ in his service, or permit to reside in his dominions, any European or American whatever, without the consent and acquiescence of the British Government; the said British Government on its part engaging that it never will employ, or permit to reside in its dominions, any person, subject of the Ma-

harajah, or others, who shall hereafter be guilty of crimes, or of hostility, against the person or Government of the aforesaid Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

8. As, by the present treaty, the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly cemented, that they may be considered as one and the same, the Maharajah engages neither to commence nor to pursue, in future, any negotiation with any principal states or powers, without giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation with the Honorable East India Company's Government: and the Honorable Company's Government, on their part, declare that they will have no manner of concern with any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, military chiefs, or servants, with respect to whom the Maharajah is absolute; and that they will on no occasion ever afford encouragement, support, or protection, to any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, chiefs, or servants, who may eventually act in opposition to the Maharajah's authority, but on the contrary, at the requisition of the Maharajah, they will aid and assist to punish and reduce all such offenders to obedience; and it is further agreed, that no officer of the Honorable Company shall ever interfere in the internal affairs of the Maharajah's Government.

9. As the chief object and design of the present defensive alliance is the security and protection of the dominions of the contracting parties, and their allies and dependents, from all attack whatsoever, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any state or chief in alliance with the Honorable Company, or against any other principal state or power; and, in the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall meet with his full approbation and acquiescence.

10. The contracting parties will employ all practicable means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war, and for that purpose will at all times be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other principal states or powers, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the principal powers of India, according to the true spirit and tenor of this treaty. But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other state or power whatever, then the Maharajah

Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur engages, that the English force, consisting of six battalions, with their guns, &c., joined by a detachment of his army, consisting of six thousand of the Maharajah's infantry, and ten thousand of his Pagah and Sillahdar cavalry, which force the Maharajah engages always to keep ready, shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and the Maharajah also engages to employ every further effort for the purpose of bringing into the field the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war. The Honorable Company in the same manner engage, on their part (on such event occurring), to employ in active operations against the enemy as large a force as the service may require, over and above the said subsidiary force.

11. Whenever war shall appear probable, the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages to collect as many brinjarries as possible, and to store as much grain as may be practicable in the frontier garrisons. The Company's Government also, with a view to the effectual prosecution of the war, engage to adopt similar measures in their frontier garrisons.

12. The contracting parties entertain no views of conquests or extensions of their respective dominions, nor any intention of proceeding to hostilities against any state or principal power unless in the case of unjust and unprovoked aggression, and after the failure of their joint endeavours to obtain reasonable satisfaction, through the channel of pacific negotiation, according to the tenor of the preceding treaty. If, contrary to the spirit and object of this defensive treaty, war with any state should hereafter appear unavoidable (which God avert), the contracting parties will proceed to adjust the rule of partition of all such advantages and acquisitions as may eventually result from the success of their united arms. It is declared that, in the event of war, and of a consequent partition of conquests between the contracting parties, the shares of each Government shall be equal in the division of any territory which may be acquired by the successful exertion of their united arms, provided that each of the contracting parties shall have fulfilled all the stipulations of this treaty.

13. The interests of the contracting parties being identified this defensive alliance, it is agreed, that the Honorable Com-

pany's Government shall be at liberty to employ the whole, or any part of the subsidiary force established by the treaty, in quelling of any disturbance which may arise within their territories, or in the performance of any other service which may be required by the said Honorable Company's Government, provided such service shall not interfere with any other duties on which the said subsidiary force is liable to be employed, under the conditions of this treaty. And if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the Maharajah's dominions which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Honorable Company, and to which it might be inconvenient to detach any proportion of the subsidiary force, the British Government in like manner, if required by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, shall direct such of the Company's troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the Maharajah's dominions; and if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the dominions of the British Government which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Maharajah, the Maharajah, if required by the British Government, shall direct such of his troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the dominions of the British Government.

14. In order to strengthen and confirm the friendship established between the two states, it is agreed that neither of the two contracting parties shall enter into any alliance, or have any concern, with the tributaries or chiefs of the other; and in order to support the independent authority of both Governments, it is agreed and declared, that hereafter neither of the contracting parties will give protection or countenance to the rebellious tributaries and subjects of the other, but they will use their utmost endeavours for the apprehension of such rebels, in order that they may be brought to punishment.

15. The Honorable Company agree to exert their influence to maintain the observance of such usages on matters of form, and ceremony, and other customs, as shall appear to have been fixed on all points of intercourse and communication between the Peishwah and his ancestors, and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah and his ancestors; and the English Government also agree to recognise the right of Dowlut Rao Scindiah to all possessions he holds, whether by written sunnuds or grants, or by the un-

written authority of the Peishwah, according to former usage, provided such sunnuds do not interfere with the faithful fulfilment of the treaty of peace; and provided also, that in all cases where disputes may arise on the subject of possessions held by unwritten authority, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah agrees to refer to the sole arbitration of the said British Government, who will decide with reference to former usage, on the principles of truth and justice. The English Government further agrees to use its endeavour to prevent any acts which have been done by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, or his ancestors, under the authority reposed in him or them by the Peishwah or his ancestors, from being subverted, provided their being supported is strictly consistent with the preservation of the honor and dignity of his Highness the Peishwah, and of the stipulations of the treaty of peace.

16. This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, being this day settled by Major Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Eitul Punt and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindiah; Major Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian, and Mahratta, and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Maharajah, who, on his part, has also delivered one copy of the same, duly executed by himself: and Major Malcolm, by virtue of a special authority given him in that behalf by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley (himself vested with full powers as before stated), hereby declares the said treaty to be in full force from the date hereof, and engages that a copy of the same, from the Governor-General in Council, in every respect the counterpart of that executed by himself, shall be delivered to the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in the space of two months and ten days; and on the delivery of such copy, the treaty executed by Major Malcolm shall be returned.

Done at Boorhampore, the twenty-seventh of February, A. D. 1804, or fourteenth of Zeecada, A. H. 1218.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY ON THE PEACE WITH SCINDIAH AND HOLKAR.

[The following are the letters to which reference is made at the close of Chapter XIII. They are all written in the year 1806.]

London, February 25, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I returned from the Continent only a few days ago, and have not yet had leisure to read the Indian papers which have come into my hands, in order to enable me to form an opinion of the state of affairs up to the latest period. I think it probable, however, that you will have peace, and that it may be permanent or otherwise in proportion to our own firmness and the means of the enemy of disturbing our tranquillity. So many principles, however, have been abandoned, or overturned, that we must look for peace from a course of accidental circumstances, and not from the steady adherence to any settled system of policy. I will try to get a living for your brother, but you see that a revolution (commonly called a change) has taken place in the Government of this country. *We* are not actually in opposition, but we have no power, and if I get anything for your brother it must be by the influence of private friendship. I don't think that this Government can last very long. You can have no idea of the disgust created by the harshness of their measures and by the avidity with which they have sought for office, and by the indecency with which they have dismissed every man supposed to have been connected with Pitt. His friends will, I think, remain connected, and will act together as a body, and a most formidable one they will be to any Government, on account of their numbers. I am tolerably well in health, and I shall be quite well if I can contrive to spend a few weeks at Cheltenham this summer. The regiment which they have given me, and the staff, have made me rich. As soon as I shall have read all the Indian papers which I have got, I will sit down and write you a long despatch upon them. In the mean time,

Believe me, yours most sincerely and affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

There is a report about London which I cannot bring myself to

give credit to, that you had been hurt by a horse, and that your leg had, in consequence, been amputated. I was employed for two days tracing this report, and at last I found that you had been bit by a horse in the arm. I only hope not by Sultan.

Hastings, in Sussex, July 31, 1806.

My dear Malcolm,—I have received your letters up to the 14th of January, for which I return you many thanks. The subjects to which they relate are too large to be discussed in a letter which must go to the post this afternoon, in order to be despatched by the ships which sail in a few days. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself by telling you that I consider you have acted a part entirely consistent with your own character, and in strict conformity with my sentiments, in everything that you have done. The arrangement with Scindiah is precisely that which you and I recommended long before, and which I urged, and I believe was ordered, when I was in Bengal, in the year 1804. I thought, also, at that time, and so did you, that the Rajpoots ought to have been subjected to the control of Scindiah's Government, as the only mode of re-establishing it in the state in which it must exist, if it is to exist at all. This object might with ease and justice have been effected at that time, if the state of Scindiah's Government had permitted it; and I am not sufficiently acquainted with all that has passed between the Rajpoots and our Government since the period of Monson's defeat to be able to decide that we ought not to deliver them over to Scindiah, notwithstanding the favorable change which has taken place in the state and dispositions of his councils.

I regret that it has been necessary to allow Holkar to exist and to be at large. I should be inclined to suspect that he will never allow us to be at peace, and without peace we cannot reduce the debt, which must be the great object at present. However, if it was necessary to allow him to exist, I see but one amendment which could have been made to the treaty with him, that is, to have kept permanently Amber and Chandore in the Deccan, and some place of similar consequence in Hindostan, either in our own hands, or those of our allies, as a perpetual memorial to the whole world that we had defeated him. The powers of India will not

now believe that our moderation alone has occasioned the treaty which has been concluded, and I should not be surprised if it gave ground for a belief the most erroneous, that Holkar's power and his mode of warfare had been more destructive to us than the resources, and the efficiency, and discipline of the armies of the other Mahrattas.

In respect to the necessity of peace with Holkar, no man can be a judge of it who has not been in this country, who has not sat in the House of Commons, and had means of ascertaining the public opinion at its fountain head. I really believe that in the opinion of the majority of people in this country it would have been better to cede the whole of Oude to Holkar, than to continue the war with him.

As for myself, I am here now in the command of a force—stationed on this part of the coast—the old landing-place of William the Conqueror. You will have seen that I am in Parliament, and a most difficult and unpleasant game I have had to play in the present extraordinary state of parties. I have desired Sydenham to send you a copy of a speech which I made upon the Budget. I have seen your brothers Pulteney and Charles, both well. The former is in the *Donegal* off Brest, the other unemployed in London. But Sir Thomas, who I saw likewise, expects to be able to get a ship for Charles soon. God bless you, my dear Malcolm; do not stay too long in India, and believe me,

Ever yours most affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Pray remember me most kindly to Wilkes, and all friends at Seringapatam.

Deal, Dec. 10, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I hear that the ships will soon sail from Portsmouth, and I will not allow them to go without a few lines, although I have but little to tell you. I know no more of public news than what you will see in the newspapers, which indeed, in these days, contain everything. You will read with horror the accounts of the French successes against the King of Prussia, but will learn with pleasure that, considering the line of policy which

that Government has adopted for some years, those successes are not likely to do us any material mischief immediately, whatever may be their eventual consequence in relation to our ally the Emperor of Russia. Of the truth of this opinion I am thoroughly convinced, from a personal knowledge of facts, as well as because I know it is entertained by some, for whose judgment I entertain the greatest respect.

As for India, I know but little respecting it. If I had been employed in North America, I might be informed and consulted on the measures to be adopted in India; but as it is, that is out of the question. Lord Minto will sail soon—I believe, early in next month; and General Hewitt, who is appointed Commander-in-Chief, will go with him, or shortly after him. You will find this to be a sensible and good-natured gentleman, and well disposed to carry on his business in the manner which experience has proved to be most suitable to the country. I doubt whether his health or his age will permit him to remain long, or to be very active in the field.

The last letter which I received from you was dated from Cawnpore, in May, I believe, but I sent it to Lord W., who has kept it. You are already acquainted with my opinion generally about your peace with Holkar, and your treaty with Scindiah. I only wish that you had kept anything from the former which might have been held out as a perpetual signal and memorandum to all India that he had been defeated by us, for I am apprehensive that the opinion to which I know all were inclined, that Holkar's system of warfare was the same with the old Mahratta system, that it was the best against us, and that Scindiah was ruined by his adoption of a more regular system, than which nothing can be more erroneous, may occasion another war with a confederacy. I know that we have no danger to apprehend from this war, if we keep up not so much the strength of our armies as our equipments; and if our troops are commanded by officers who know how to make use of them. But I dread the expense, and the effect which the renewal of these wars will have in this country, and I know full well that there are many delicate questions to be settled in the Mahratta Empire, the arrangement of which, in peace, will require all the impression from former victories, all the vigor, all the prudence, and all the temper which

have brought us through our former difficulties. The fault which I find with the peace with Holkar, therefore, is, that it has strengthened an erroneous opinion, which has deprived us of the greatest advantage of our victories, viz., their impression, and that in this manner it will increase the chance of war upon the occasion of the arrangement of every question which remains to be settled in the Mahratta Empire. The want of this impression renders the practice of a vigorous administration nearly impracticable, excepting in a state of constant preparation for war, which, after all, is nearly as expensive as war itself; and yet I don't see how the Government in India is to be carried on excepting with vigor.

I see no material objection to the treaty with Scindiah, and I believe that I recommended that the treaty of peace should be arranged upon the principles of that treaty, and that a treaty to a similar purport should be concluded with Scindiah when the treaty of peace was arranged differently.

You will have heard with astonishment of Paull's attack upon Lord Wellesley. The impudence of this gentleman in setting himself up for Westminster, has afforded an opportunity of unveiling him to the public, and his character is now well known. Only think of that fellow standing for Westminster, and having him not far from carrying his election! He is not now in Parliament, and I doubt whether he will come in; and if he should not be in the House of Commons, it is not quite clear that anybody will undertake the cause which he will have left. But whether there should be such a person or not, I have some reason to believe that the House will not allow the business to be brought forward again, although, from the state of parties, I am afraid that it will not be got rid of in the manner which would be most agreeable and honorable to Lord Wellesley and his friends. You who know him well, will be aware of the impression which all that has passed upon this subject, and the state of the public mind on Indian subjects generally, have made upon him. I will not pretend to describe it to you in a letter, and I cannot venture to enter into particulars on many subjects on which I should wish to give you information, considering the danger to which letters are exposed on their passage, and the bad consequences which have resulted, and must always result, from the publication of intercepted correspondence.

Your brother is well, and off Brest in the *Donegal*. Charles has got a ship, and is, I believe, still at Plymouth.

Ever, my dear Malcolm, yours most affectionately,

A. W.

Remember me most kindly to Wilkes, Barclay, Symonds, and Piele, and all friends at Seringapatam. Also to Colonel Close, when you write to him.

END OF VOL. I.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

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